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THE ŚŪDRĀCĀRAŚIROMAṆI OF KṚṢṆA ŚEṢA: A 16th Century Manual of Dharma for Śūdras

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THE ŚŪDRĀCĀRAŚIROMAṆI OF KṚṢṆA ŚEṢA

A 16th Century Manual of Dharma for Śūdras

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To Ludo Rocher

एकमप्यक्षरं यस्तु गुरुः शिष्यं प्रबोधयेत् ।
पृथिव्यां नास्ति तद् द्रव्यं दत्वा सो ऽनृणी भवेत् ॥

Atri Saṁhitā

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ABSTRACT

THE ŚŪDRĀCĀRAŚIROMAṆI OF KṚṢṆA ŚEṢA: A SIXTEENTH-CENTURY MANUAL OF DHARMA FOR ŚŪDRAS

Theodore Benke

Ludo Rocher

From the fourteenth to the seventeenth century C.E., a *śāstra* of a new type on the topic of Śūdras was composed and circulated among *Dharmaśāstrins*. These *śūdradharma* texts were primarily concerned with the ritual life of Śūdras—the rites, sacraments, and forms of religious knowledge to which they were entitled in *śruti* and *smṛti*. But they also included expositions on the generation of Śūdra *jātis* according to the theory of *varṇasaṅkara* and descriptions of the ways of life and occupations of Śūdras. This is a study and translation of one of these texts, the *Śūdrācāraśiromaṇi* of Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa, among the most brilliant and eminent paṇḍits of late medieval Sanskrit, celebrated as both grammarian and poet. In the series of essays that accompany the translation, I analyze the text and piece together the fragmentary evidence for its date and authorship. *Śūdradharma* texts were one response of the Brahmin intellectual elite to the challenges to traditional dharma and dominance arising from the changing socio-economic conditions of Sultanate and Mughal India. They represent a shift in Dharmashastric discourse from the ritual exclusion of Śūdras as the sign of their social subjection to fuller integration into the Brahmanical fold. As an effort to deepen the ritual regulation of low castes in a time of and caste instability and anxiety (the improved but precarious class position of many Śūdras) and social ferment (the Bhakti movements) they were adjunct to a more general reassessment of *varṇa* and the identity and place of Brahmins and Kṣatriyas. *Śūdradharma* texts like the *Śūdrācāraśiromaṇi* preserve the Vedic privilege and ritual primacy of Brahmins while adjusting to the new realities of caste by the qualified inclusion of *sat*, i.e., "good" Śūdras as a new client base for ritual services. The *Śūdrācāraśiromaṇi* was composed in typical *nibandha* style, but in the form of a concise and comprehensive handbook for Brahmins to instruct and guide Śūdras in their daily ritual life.

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Common Abbreviations

ĀD Āpastamba Dharmasūtra
AGS Āśvalāyana Gṛhyasūtra
AS Aṅgiras Smṛti
Ap Aparārka
B Baudhāyana
BhP Bhaviṣya Purāṇa
BmP Brahmānda Purāṇa
BP Bhāgavata Purāṇa
BrP Brahma Purāṇa
Bṛh Bṛhaspati Smṛti
BS Brahma Sūtra
CC Catalogus Catalogorum, Aufrecht
D Devala Smṛti
DP Devī Purāṇa
G Gautama Dharmasūtra
HDS History of Dharmaśāstra, Kane
K Kātyāyana Smṛti
KgS Kātyāyana Gṛhyasūtra
KkP Kālikā Purāṇa
KP Kūrma Purāṇa
KS Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa
KV Kaṁsavadha
LP Liṅga Purāṇa
M Manusmṛti
MB Mahābhārata
MBh Mahābhāṣya
MP Matsya Purāṇa
Mit Mitākṣarā
MkP Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa
N Nārada Smṛti
NP Nārada Purāṇa
NCC New Catalogus Catalogorum
NsP Nārasiṁha Purāṇa
NSM Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts
P Purāṇa
PP Padma Purāṇa
PC Padacandrikā
PHC Pārijātaharaṇacampū
PKC Prakṛtacandriḳā
PKP Prakriyākaumudīprakāśa
PS Parāśara Smṛti
RV Ṛg Veda
S Śaṅkha Smṛti
SAI Śūdras in Ancient India
SAS Śūdrācaraśiromaṇi
ŚB Śātapatha Brāhmaṇa
SC Smṛticandrikā
SK Śūdrakamalākara
SKVT Śūdrakṛtyavicāraṇatattva
SkP Skanda Purāṇa
ŚP Śāntiparvan
ST Sphoṭatattva
SvP Śiva Purāṇa
TS Taittirīya Saṃhitā
U Upaniṣad
V Vasiṣṭha Dharmasūtra
VaP Vāyu Purāṇa
VdP Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa
VmP Vāmana Purāṇa
VsS Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā
VrP Varāha Purāṇa
VP Viṣṇu Purāṇa
VS Viṣṇu Smṛti
VyS Vyāsa Smṛti
Y Yājñavalkya
YS Yama Smṛti

Transliteration of Devanāgarī Letters

अ	a	ए	e	क	k	च	c
आ	ā	ऐ	ai	ख	kh	छ	ch
इ	i	ओ	o	ग	g	ज	j
ई	ī	औ	au	घ	gh	झ	jh
उ	u	ऋ	ṛ	ङ	ṅ	ञ	ñ
ऊ	ū	त	t	प	p	य	y
ट	ṭ	थ	th	फ	ph	र	r
ड	ṭh	द	d	ब	b	ल	l
ढ	ḍ	ध	dh	भ	bh	व	v
ण	ṇ	न	n	म	m	श	ś
ष	ṣ	Anusvāra	ṃ				
स	s	Visarga	ः				
ह	h						

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Introduction

From the fourteenth to the seventeenth century, *śāstras* of a new type dealing with the dharma of Śūdras were composed. These texts were primarily concerned with the ritual life of Śūdras: the sacrifices, sacraments, and devotional practices to which they were entitled. They also included discussions of the origins of Śūdra *jātis* according to the theory of *varṇasaṅkara* and descriptions of their ways of making a living.

The outpouring of works on *śūdradharma* in this late medieval period appears to be unprecedented. R. S. Sharma called it "a spate of books."[1] J. Duncan M. Derrett, the great scholar of Hindu Law, remarked that Śūdras had become "a favorite topic of the latter days of the śāstra."[2] The lives of lower caste Indians seems to have become a matter of some concern in Brahmin scholarship at this time.

To date only two of these texts have been edited and published: the *Śūdrakamalākara* of Kamalākara-bhaṭṭa and the *Śūdrācāraśiromaṇi* of Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa.[3] The *Śūdrācāraśiromani*, or what appears to be the author's own title, the *Satśūdrācāraśiromaṇi*, "The Gem Treatise of Good Śūdra Conduct,"[4] is one of the best specimens of this new genre of *śūdradharma*, and in the estimation of its editor, N. S. Khiste, "although concise, a profound summa on the subject." I have translated the *Śūdrācāraśiromaṇi* (hereafter SAS) and in a series of essays analyzed its contents and sifted the evidence for its date, author, and patron.

Apart from Ananya Vajpeyi's dissertation, these Śūdra texts remain entirely unstudied.[5] Vajpeyi takes the archive

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[1] R.S. Sharma, *Śūdras in Ancient India: A Social History of the Lower Order Down to circa A.D. 600*, 307.

[2] J. D. M. Derrett, *Dharmaśāstra and Juridical Literature.* Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1973, 18.

[3] The *Śūdrakamalākara* has been translated into Marathi in *Śūdrakamalākara*, ed. Javaji Dadaji (1880), Sanskrit and Marathi, 4th edition (Mumbai: Nirnayasagara Press, 1928).

[4] Kṛṣna Śeṣa calls his work the *Satśūdrācāraśiromaṇi* on pages 32, 78, and 221 in a set of verses repeated at the end of sections and at the conclusion.

> It was for Pilājī the illustrious, the son of Keśavadāsa,
> a treasury of blessings to the good, cynosure of the learned,
> that the preceding enquiry into caste was made
> in the *Gemstone of Good Śūdra Conduct* by Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa.

[5] Ananya Vajpeyi. "Politics of Complicity, Poetics of Contempt: A History of the Śūdra in Maharashtra, 1650-1950 CE." Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 2004. R. S. Sharma touches on them in *Śūdras in Ancient India: A Social History of the Lower Order Down to circa AD 600.* Delhi: 1958, 307. Sheldon Pollock directed Vajpeyi's dissertation which made a start on remedying the fact that "there exists an array of texts treating of śūdradharma (e.g., *Śūdrācāraśiromani* of Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa, *Śūdrakṛtyatattva* of Raghunandana Bhaṭṭācāryya, *Śūdrakamalākara*, etc.), which to my knowledge have received no systematic (or other) analysis." "Deep Orientalism? Notes on Sanskrit and Power Beyond the Raj," in *Orientalism and the Postcolonial Predicament: Per-*

of *śūdradharma* texts as the starting point for her real interest: a study of the discourse on Śūdras as a "poetics of contempt" and its revisions from the consecration of Śivājī as a "Śūdra king" to Jotirao Phule and B. R. Ambedkar. It seemed that it might be a useful contribution to translate one of these texts and see what is in it and what it might be able to tell us about the lives of working-caste people in the sixteenth century, or, more precisely, what Brahmin opinion on the subject may have been.

In Dharmashastric discourse, the religious is the language into which all other concerns are translated. Therefore, we find in the *Śūdrācāraśiromaṇi* a discussion of the lives of Śūdras and the regulation of caste, marriage, reproduction, and livelihoods within the paradigm of ritual. I have attempted to read this ritual discourse for clues to the social history of caste in the late Sultanate/early Mughal period and its changing dynamics. As documents for the emergence of modern Hinduism, the Hinduism encountered by the West, such early texts on caste and ritual by Indians themselves are a corrective to the notion, shared by Brahmins and some western scholars, of their unchanging and ahistoric nature.[6]

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spectives on South Asia, ed. by Carol A. Breckenridge and Peter van der Veer (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993), 125n68.

[6] The trend of recent post-colonial scholarship has been to see the emergence of a pan-Indian caste system as the result of colonialism, but recognizing that important precursors were put into place during the Mughal period by the more thorough penetration of the lower castes by Brahmanical ritual. If nothing else, the SAS shows that a more textually explicit integration of Śūdras into the ritual system was part of a process of consolidating the Brahmanical order that was well underway before European colonization, what Pollock calls "Deep Orientalism, " and Srinivas "Sanskritization."

Susan Bayly locates the emergence of a caste-centric cultural order formalized around Dumontian ritual purity in the period 1700-1830, aptly calling it the "Brahman Raj." In the interregnum between the Mughals and the Raj, Brahmins were able to reassert their power. But she also believes that the spread of caste-like norms and values was occurring even earlier, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. *Caste, Society, and Politics in India from the Eighteenth Century to the Modern Age. The New Cambridge History of India*: IV, 3, pp 64-96. Contra the "Cambridge revisionists," who downplay the impact of colonialism, Nicholas Dirks regards caste in its modern form as reconstructed through the discourse, administration, and policy of the colonial state, as a reinvented tradition that selectively fixed aspects of Indian society, preeminently caste, as its essence. Caste served colonial rule by making religion ascendant over politics and history. But the process of Brahmanization or Sanskritization of the sub-continent had been going on already for a millennium prior to its Westernization. A highly developed discourse on *varṇa* was already current. Brahmanical caste ritual had begun filling the vacuums of royal power left during the Sultanate and Mughal periods, a process only drastically accelerated by the colonial decapitation of kingship of which Dirks speaks. Ronald Inden also stresses the effect of political decapitation in depoliticizing Indian culture and leaving religious tradition standing as the dominant institution. Indian Brahmin elites had every reason of ideology, property, and prestige to collaborate with colonial rule in the construction of the image of a timeless India and an apolitical dharma. That had been their aim since Śankara, Ramānuja, and Manu before them. There was, consequently, a complicity of interests in promoting a neo-traditionalism or neo-Brahmanism. The British capitalized on this in a way the Muslims had not. One might observe, however, that the protective sealing up of Dharma within its own traditions under Muslim rule was in its own way as important as what happened under British administration.

Dirks recognizes that this is so, observing that "under colonialism, caste was appropriated, and in many respects reinvented." Dirks (1990: 61). However, one often has the sense when reading post-colonialists that the antecedents of caste, especially as they develop during the preceding era of Muslim rule, are not given their full weight. In the final analysis, the differences between the pre- and post-colonial features of caste are a matter of emphasis. C. A. Bayly agrees that social relations and modes of thought and belief, which had consolidated themselves in the later years of Mughal India, continued to develop under British rule. These were inflected by the military and financial needs of the colonial state, developments in the world economy, and the adaptation and resistance of the Indians themselves. C. A. Bayly, *Indian Society and the Making of the British Empire*, 169.

Caste had been evolving since the pre-Buddhist era. The SAS is the product of one epoch in its mutation, the colonial model of caste another. What is true of British rule is that it gave caste dharma an unprecedented primacy both ideologically and institu-

Texts with a special focus on Śūdras were the culmination of a long process of enlarging and spelling out the religious rights and duties of Śūdras that had been going on since the Gupta era and the advent of Vaiṣṇavism with its drive to bring the lower castes within the Brahmanical fold. In that respect, they are nothing new. The shastric precedents in the relaxation of punitive rigor began much earlier with *smṛtikāras* such as Yājñavalkya and the *Mahābhārata*. Indeed, as will be discussed, the SAS harks back to an earlier phase of "liberalization" in the Gupta period. The point of view of the *Śūdrācāraśiromaṇi* emerges through the *nibandha* procedure of citing these earlier *smṛti*s. Indeed, half of the text consists of such citations.

From one point of view, these new Śūdra texts can be seen as an accommodation in Dharmaśāstra to late medieval social conditions by expanding the ritual rights of Śūdras; from another, they were a highly conservative step in the further Brahmanization of lower castes, the fuller integration of Śūdras, *antyaja*s, and Ādivāsīs within the caste order. In fact, the former is the means to the latter. To speak of "rights" being granted to Śūdras, as does R. S. Sharma, may be anachronistic in a sixteenth century context.[7] Nonetheless, a certain relaxation and spirit of inclusion is detectable in the SAS, but within a context of more deeply rooted shastric regulation and ritualization of the lives of Śūdras.

Śūdras were dealt with in the Dharmasūtras, but were not the subject of independent treatises until late medieval times. If such texts existed earlier, they have been lost without trace. Śūdras are given short shrift in the Dharmasūtras and Dharmaśāstras. Regulations for Śūdras, as the *varṇa* mandated to serve the twice-born, are strictly subsidiary. Manu's treatment is notoriously marginalizing; he is uninterested, not to say paranoiac, about the lower orders, and is entirely preoccupied with Brahmin priestly interests and their relations to political power.[8] Dharmaśāstra had been engaged since the post-Mauryan era in promoting a Brahmanical restoration and subordinated the welfare of Śūdras to *varṇāśramadharma*. As a discourse by and for Brahmins, the ruling subject position of Dharmaśāstra texts *is* the Brahmin foremost and, secondarily, the three upper *varṇa*s. This is still true of the SAS, mainly with regard to the maintenance of Vedic privilege, but the fourth *varṇa* is now more fully admitted into the space of Brāhmaṇa ritual life.

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tionally through the implementations of state, law, and scholarship. The colonial regime appropriated the Dharmashastric discourse of caste as the master plan of Indian society with the collaboration of Brahmin elites, who were situated in a traditional sociology of knowledge of their own and a social order to a degree long shaped by it. The Brahmanical view of caste was itself as constructed and invented as the British one and supplied its textual basis. The colonial conception and institution of caste was only the latest layer in a long process of sedimentation. As documentation of the religious life of Śūdras as it was seen in late Dharmaśāstra, the SAS shows the effort invested in enclosing everyone within the caste body.

[7] Sharma, 1980, 246-313.

[8] Patrick Olivelle, *The Law Code of Manu* (2004): Introduction, xxxv; xli-xlv.

Śūdras as the laboring and service *varṇa* were the majority of the population in all periods of Indian history.[9] They constituted the working classes that made everything work, and socially demeaned, disenfranchised, voiceless, and invisible, as all working classes have largely been throughout history, were of interest to elite discourse mainly as objects of control, fear, and loathing. The Purāṇas devote considerable attention to their spiritual welfare, but remain fearful of them and regard their worldly success and ambition as signs of the degeneration of the Kaliyuga. In the late medieval period, they are given a more systematic and somewhat more sympathetic treatment. But they remain the voiceless subaltern objects of a dominant discourse. In the Bhakti movements, they began to speak for themselves.

The profusion of *smṛtinibandhas* about Śūdras may be simply a consequence of the greater volume of scholarly and literary production in the late medieval period. *Nibandhakāras* were collecting, collating, and digesting all previous views on Śūdras. More scholars were writing, copying, and commenting on more texts, and more texts are preserved from this period. Hindu kingdoms such as Vijayanagara sponsored state scholarship on an almost "industrial" scale. In other words, it was part-and-parcel of the scholasticism that has long been decried as typical of Sanskrit in this period. That may be so, but the new attention to Śūdras and the change in attitude indicate that other concerns were at work as well. The three higher *varṇa*s were not the subject of similar separate treatises—the duties and privileges of *dvijas* were the main matter of all earlier Dharmaśāstra. The mere fact of finding it necessary to lay down systematically the religious duties and conduct of Śūdras strongly suggests that this had now become a significant issue. At the very least, they tell us what elite opinion considered fit and proper for low castes people at this time.

We have references to at least 49 texts. Next to nothing is known about most of them. Some appear to be *nibandhas*, the characteristic form of late medieval Dharmaśāstra.[10] Some are handbooks (*paddhati*). Some are sections of larger digests and compendia. Many digests such as Lakṣmīdhara's *Kṛtyakalpataru* contained extensive sections on

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[9] The latest reckoning puts the population at the death of Akbar around 145 million, 80% of whom were rural peasants and villagers. Shireen Moosvi, *The Economy of the Mughal Empire, c. 1595: A Statistical Study* (Delhi, 1987), 395-406. In colonial censuses like that of 1881, 75-80% of Hindus were classified as Śūdras.

[10] *Nibandhas* are not *bhāṣyas*, *ṭīkas*, or *vṛttis* on entire individual *dharmasūtras* or *dharmaśāstras*, but digests and compendia of extracts from them and *pauranic* sources on a particular topic such as adoption or inheritance, collected with a view to adjudicating their conflicts and establishing a position on some point of dharma consistent with its supposed unity. Some of them are really encyclopedic *summas* of every aspect of dharma: Ḷakṣmīdhara's *Kṛtyakalpataru* (12th c.), Mitramiśra's *Vīramitrodaya* (17th c.), and Raghunandana's *Smṛtitattva* (16th c.), which contains a short chapter on Śūdras. The line between commentary and *nibandha* is not sharp. They both employ the same critical methods to the same end of harmonization. Some commentaries like those of Aparārka and Vijñāneśvara (*Mitākṣarā*) on Yājñavalkya are as voluminous as *nibandhas*.

śūdradharma. The seven available texts discuss standard topics (the origin of the Śūdra *jātis* through caste mixing or *varṇasaṅkara*, occupations and livelihoods, entitlement to Vedic education), but are primarily concerned with the ritual duties and rights of Śūdras.

From the twelfth and continuing up into the eighteenth century C.E., we see the elaboration of a vast and complex corpus of commentarial literature explicating the Dharmasūtras and Dharmaśāstras.[11] The commentarial literature in Sanskrit in the late medieval, pre-colonial, and early colonial periods is still largely unexplored, regarded as derivative and scholastic. Nevertheless, it was precisely these compendiums of commentary and criticism that condensed and formalized two millennia of Sanskrit into a classical tradition. As Romila Thapar, Sheldon Pollock, and others have remarked, this enormous body of literature has yet to be analyzed in terms of its own historical context and the intellectual, religious, and social influences and requirements inflecting it.

It is no coincidence that comprehensive digests of law made their appearance with the arrival of the Muslim Turks and Afghans or that low castes now became a special concern. Confronted with the Other of a totalizing, unassimilating faith, Hinduism became aware of itself as a coherent tradition. Hindu kings commissioned these massive monuments of law and scholarship to reinforce Dharma. The need to defend the Dharma led Brahmin *nibandhakāra*s to assemble the texts of the whole tradition and tighten up the rules for all *varṇa*s. Thus, the renewed focus on Śūdras.

Dharmaśāstras are normative texts. As Patrick Olivelle has observed, "they tell people what to do—they do not tell us what people actually did."[12] Prescriptive rather than descriptive, they cannot be read uncritically. A start can be made by first trying to understand how they functioned socially and discursively. If caste is the social unconscious of Hindu society, *varṇa* theory as framed and constructed in Dharmaśāstra was its *imaginaire culturel.* As ideology, it both represented and reproduced the social relations in which people lived their lives.[13] It was not sim-

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[11] Four complete *dharmasūtras*, attached to different Vedic schools, have survived: Āpastamba, Gautama, Baudhāyana, and Vasiṣṭha, themselves the product of a long and rich tradition of discourse and debate. A quartet of *Dharmaśāstras* has likewise been preserved in their entirety: the most famous, Manu, Yājñavalkya, Nārada, and Parāśara, together with commentaries such as Bhāruci's *Vivaraṇa* on Manu and Vijñānesvara's *Mitākṣarā* on Yājñavalkya, as well as other fragments, collections of minor texts, epic/ pauranic interpolations, and odd composites such as the *Viṣṇusmṛti.*

[12] *The Dharmasūtras: The Law Codes of Ancient India.* (1999): Introduction, xxxiv-xliii.

[13] These social relations were sorted out through "caste struggle," a displaced and religiously mystified form of class competition. Following Berreman, I see this competition as the attempt to bring ascribed caste status into line with claimed status structurally relative to others' claims and ascriptions. Gerald Berreman, "The Brahmanical View of Caste." *Contributions to Indian Sociology*, *New Series* 5 (Vikas Publications, 1971): 16-23.

Claude Meillassoux sees caste as "no more than an ideological screen which hid social reality by scattering social di-visions along the whole length of a formal hierarchy, and submerging exploitative relations among them. "Are there Castes in India?"

ply a "sociological fiction."[14] Moreover, Dharmaśāstra was, arguably, always and principally about the place and role of Brahmins.

Dharmaśāstras were not monoliths of law cut into stone, though that might have been the ideal. They never had the force of positive law or legislation, but were learned recommendation, bearing the aura of sacred authority, made, in the first place, to the faithful following the path of Dharma and, secondarily, to advisors in caste disputes. Even in this last respect, "they agree only moderately with the way of the world and are more respected than obeyed."[15] Indeed, one has the sense that what is prohibited was often the negative of the actual state of affairs, or at least an index to what was feared and in need of control. The social was always exceeding the power of Brahmins to contain it within the ideological frames of *varṇāśramadharma*. The relation of Dharmaśāstra to social realities is mantric, one might say, rather than mirroring; it was striving to bring about a state of reality, not describe one.

Nor do Dharmaśāstras present a flat and uniform code of conduct. They are full of divergent views and criticism of predecessors. The SAS is typical in this regard, collating alternative views. Moreover, the canons of *Mīmāṁsā* interpretation, ostensibly applied to reconcile conflicting texts and establish the true sense, were in practice used to reach original conclusions that met the needs of differing times and communities.

The problem in reading these texts is that the reverence for scriptural tradition in Dharmaśāstra and the canons of shastric argument entail that the point of view of the *nibandhakāra* is often implied rather than plainly asserted. His view is expressed through the selection of excerpts from *śruti*, *smṛti*, and Purāṇas, and the *pūrvapakṣas*, arguments, and alternative views he cites. This is characteristic of Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa: he rarely states a viewpoint or position of his own, he argues toward it indirectly, letting it emerge from the sources he cites.

Far from the rigid and unchanging picture of caste, which still lingers on in common belief, political and economic conditions were continually reshuffling the makeup and interrelationships of the groups of people defined as Śūdra, Vaiśya, or Kṣatriya in Brahmanical discourse. The social status of Śūdras varies enormously from region to region and period to period. As we pass from Vedic pastoralism through the Mauryan empire, the age of the Guptas, the medieval agrarian kingdoms, Sultanate military feudalism, Mughal bureaucratic-patrimonial empire to the administration of the Raj, the composition of the Śūdra *varṇa* mutates through complex successions and combinations

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Economy and Society 2 (1973): 89-111. A formal hierarchy, I would add, increasingly in the medieval period organized around purity/pollution regulation and the *sat*/*asat* discrimination that plays so large a role in *śūdradharma* texts like the SAS.

[14] K.M. Panikkar, *Hindu Society at the Cross Roads*, Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1967): 33.

[15] Auguste Barth quoted in Robert Lingat, *The Classical Law of India*, 140.

of conquered tribes, unfree labor, peasants, Ādivāsīs, waged labor, religious sectaries, artisans, high status landowners, kings, and ruling families. In every period, some Śūdras prosper and attain social and political power.[16]

Dharmaśāstra had two responses to caste instability and change, deployed simultaneously: reactively to deplore it all as the disorders of the Kaliyuga while quietly and flexibly allowing *varṇa* to accommodate the realignment of ascribed caste with actual social power. *Śūdradharma* texts were adaptations to the high status of some Śūdras with what might be characterized as a new marketing strategy of ritual inclusion for their cultural capital (e.g., the sacred aura of the Vedas and the ritual charisma of Brahmins). The *varṇa* ideal of Dharmaśāstra could not be substantially altered—its value and use lay, after all, in its sacred sanction as eternal, immutable truth. Instead, exegetical tweaking, limiting the disqualifications enshrined in Dharmaśāstra, and supplementation with non-Vedic Agamic and customary rites were resorted to.

The Orientalist picture of stasis is not absolutely wrong, But it was the *varṇa* concept of the "Śūdra" in Dharmaśāstra that remained a constant. Brahmanical culture held itself to be the custodian of transhistorical, transcendentally valid Dharma—stasis was the goal.[17] Dharmaśāstra was an inward-looking and conservative paradigm, not meant to reflect social realities. For this reason, skepticism has prevailed that Dharmaśāstrīs ever produced texts that were adapted to contemporary circumstances. Following in the footsteps of Robert Lingat, J. Duncan M. Derrett, and Richard Lariviere, who are more positive that it did so, I have tried to read the SAS as a document shaped by the socio-economic and religious changes of the Sultanate and Mughal periods.[18]

Clearly, the Bhakti movement was a major factor stimulating accommodation. The fourteenth to sixteenth centuries were the great age of devotional movements inspired by Vallabha, Rāmānanda, Nānak, Chaitanya, Kabīr, and Tulsīdās. Brahmanism absorbed and domesticated the fervor of popular Bhakti revivalism (13th to 17th c.) that

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[16] R. S. Sharma's *Śūdras in Ancient India (1980)* is the only in-depth history devoted to Śūdras; but it only goes up to 600 A.D. A full study of the subsequent history of Śūdras remains to be written.

[17] Sheldon Pollock has some illuminating things to say about uneven temporalities; the alternating views of the stasis, dynamism, and "ahistoricality" of pre-colonial India found respectively in imperial, post-independence, and post-colonial discourses; and the "new" orientation of Sanskrit scholarship in the last centuries before colonialism in his "New Intellectuals in Seventeenth-Century India." *Indian Economic and Social History Review*, 38, 1, 3-31. Pollock had been doing some of the most stimulating work on the Sanskrit "cosmopolis" during its glorious sunset in these undeservedly neglected pre-colonial centuries.

[18] Ultimately, what was happening to Śūdras in the subcontinent is connected with the dynamics of the whole world system as the subcontinent was drawn into the turbulence of the emerging capitalist world system. See Immanuel Wallerstein, *The Modern World System: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World-Economy in the Sixteenth Century* (New York: Academic Press, 1974). My intent is not, however, to reduce ritual to political economy. Caste in the subcontinent is a system of ritually regulated administration of the political economy, unique in its scale and complexity; ritual purity cannot be treated simply as an ideological screen. Religion and economy were not separated to the degree that they had become for the secularizing colonizers.

flowed from the south to the north, cutting across caste divisions. As did Buddhism, Jainism, Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism, and Tantrism before it, some streams of Bhakti carried a strong charge of protest and resistance to *caste*. Bhakti, with its populist and egalitarian devotionalism, opened new forms of ritual participation to them, or denied its efficacy altogether, emphasizing the personal relationship between devotee and deity. Many of the *sants* and *bhakta* preachers and poets were from Śūdra backgrounds who rejected or disregarded caste distinctions and garnered wide appeal among socially and spiritually aspiring tradesmen and artisans in town and peasant landowners in the countryside. Brahmins responded with concession and reform, co-opting these new forms of belief and practice, mitigating the old disqualifications, and bringing the disaffected more fully into ritual. Loving devotion to the deity and the humble submission were recuperable as a way of reconciling Śūdras to Brahmanism. *Śūdradharma* contributed to the emergence of popular Hinduism by spreading a homogeneous and accessible form of ritual practice among the lower castes. The Brahman elite had their own interest in extending the reach and purchase of ritual administration more deeply into the lives of working caste people, an interest that also, not coincidently, met the needs of upwardly mobile Śūdra families and prominent political figures of Śūdra origin.

The story of Śivājī and Gāgābhaṭṭa illustrates the issues around *varṇa* status in the most spectacular, high profile way. Śivājī was and is a controversial subject. Was he a Śūdra, a Kṣatriya, or a Maratha to whom such Brahmanical distinctions were only politically useful? In his recasting as a Kṣatriya, he is emblematic of something more common—the relative and contestable nature of attributions of caste status.[19] Śivājī had the power and authority to choose his *varṇa* status. For those with the social leverage, caste status was renegotiable.[20]

We have a vivid picture of Gāgābhaṭṭa because of his connection with Śivājī. He invented a Rajput genealogy for him and revived archaic Vedic rituals for his coronation as king in 1674.[21] Gāgābhaṭṭa, alias of Viśveśvara Bhaṭṭa (c. 1620-1700), was the author of a text on Śūdras, the *Śūdradharmoddyota*. He also wrote about Kāyasthas, also of uncertain and controversial *varṇa* status. The Bhaṭṭas were a distinguished family of Brahmin paṇḍits from Paiṭhan in the Deccan, who lived in Benares. They maintained a close liaison with affairs back home in Mahārāṣṭra. At this

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[19] The structural relationality of caste was one of Louis Dumont's most important discoveries, but he ends up reconfirming the eternal nature of the Hindu as *homo hierarchicus*. See Berreman for a stringent critique of Dumont's severing of ritual status from social power. Berreman, Gerald. "The Brahmanical View of Caste," 16-23.

[20] The anthropologist M. N. Srinivas has many relevant things to say about caste mobility and the misfit between *varṇa* and *jāti* in pre-modern India in this regard. See the essays on mobility, hierarchy, and Sanskritization in *The Cohesive Role of Sanskritization*, 1989, "Varṇa and Caste" in *Caste in Modern India and Other Essays*, 1962, and *Social Change in Modern India,* pp. 10f.

[21] Vajpeyi's excavation of Gāgābhaṭṭa's Maharashtrian political background is one of the useful achievements of her dissertation. Gāgā wrote the *Śivarājapraśastī* and *Śriśivarājābhiṣekaprayoga* for Śivājī's coronation.

time, Brahmin councils in Benares acted as a kind of supreme court, a "super-regionally recognized center of juridical authority," where cases of caste dispute from all around India were referred on appeal.[22] The Bhaṭṭa family appear to have had a special interest in such matters perhaps only because we know so much more comparatively about them. Kamalākara, Gāgābhaṭṭa's uncle, had also written about Śūdras in his *Śūdrakamalākara* (c.1610-1640), which became the most well-known and authoritative work on the subject.

The Śeṣas were another family of esteemed *śāstrīs* and jurists involved in caste disputes in Benares.[23] Like the Bhaṭṭas, the Śeṣas were Deccanis that had settled and achieved eminence as jurists and scholars in Benares. Both families had an active interest in *śūdradharma,* which leads Vajpeyi to propose that Benares was the center for a new and unprecedented engagement with *śūdradharma*, and that it represented, if not a pronounced movement of thought, a significant new tendency in the intellectual life of Kāśi.

> It seems possible, then, to suggest that the existence of a scholarly milieu in Banaras, climaxing in the 17th century, where the conversation between Sanskrit intellectuals on *śūdradharma* was on going, and writers producing new *nibandhas* on this subject worked within a rich context rather than in isolation.[24]

Vajpeyi connects shastric production in Benares directly to political and social discords in Mahārāṣṭra. Caste disputes presented for adjudication to the jurists of Benares and the dharmic controversies provoked by them made *śūdradharma* a live intellectual topic at this time.[25] The new interest in the dharma of Śūdras was not merely a scholastic exercise, but a reaction to what was happening outside their shady courtyards and gardens. More broadly, the interest in Śūdras was part of a larger crisis of *varṇa*, prompting a reassessment by Brahmins not only of the social/ritual status of Śūdras, but the status and livelihoods of Brahmins and the role and power of Kṣatriyas.[26]

I find this all attractive, but difficult to demonstrate given the highly traditionalist character of Dharmaśāstra. Without more a detailed biography than we have for Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa, one cannot tie the contents of the SAS to anything outside it in any but the most general way. It does not have the appearance of responding to pressing current needs

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[22] Quoted in Vajpeyi, 23.
[23] Aryavaraguru, "On the Śeṣas of Benares," (1912. Reprinted, 1985). Pollock *et al*. have done handy work on the Brahmins of Banaras. See Pollock (2001), Bhandarkar (1912), Aryavaraguru (1912), and Banerji (1944).

[24] Vajpeyi 22-23.
[25] Vajpeyi, 22-24.
[26] Now the best examination of Brahmins at this time is Rosalind O'Hanlon and Christopher Minkowski, "What makes people whom they are? Pandit networks and the problem of livelihoods in early modern Western India," *Indian Economic and Social History Review* 45 (2008): 381-416.

as do Gāgābhaṭṭa's works on Śivājī's kingship, but seems to be the culmination of a longer trend in Dharmaśāstra of enlarging the ritual rights of Śūdras.

Until recently, late Sanskrit was regarded as a period of decline and arid scholasticism, like the cultural dead ends of Alexandrianism or Byzantinism. Now, it is seen as a golden age of learning and Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa as one of its most brilliant figures. This, of course, may have something to do with academics staking out new fields. Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa was famous and influential as a grammarian and wrote poetical works on the life of Lord Kṛṣṇa at the high tide of Bhakti. As a councilor and Dharmaśāstrī (if we accept his authorship of the SAS), he was engaged in the controversies of the day. The most celebrated member of a distinguished family of paṇḍits, his versatility is representative of an age when Sanskrit remained the language of high culture and scholarship much as Latin did in Europe right up to the seventeenth century.

2

Śūdradharma Texts

By trawling through Kane (1974: 1122-23) and Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum* (1891: I.659-60; 1896: II. 157, 164; III. 137), Ananya Vajpeyi (2004: 21), descriptive catalogues for collections in Baroda, Mysore, Vārāṇasī, and Dharbhanga and notices of Sanskrit manuscripts I have netted the names of 49 texts dealing with *śūdradharma* in the three centuries from 1360-1660. A thorough search would no doubt turn up quite a few more. About 30 of these are listed in Kane. [1] Often Śūdra texts are hidden in larger compendia or encyclopedias. Most begin with the word "Śūdra," but one can assume a good number do not flag their subject matter in the title, as the *Smṛtikaumudī* and *Ācāracandrikā* do not. So, there are probably many more that will escape detection until their contents are inspected. But I think my list must comprise the most important This may be a "spate of books," indicating a new interest in the subject of *śūdradharma*, but is still but a tiny fraction of the enormous mass of Dharmaśāstra manuscripts.

1. Śatśūdrācāraśiromaṇi of Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa
2. Śūdrakamalākara of Kamalākarabhaṭṭa
3. Śūdradharmoddyota of Gāgābhaṭṭa
4. Śūdrakṛtyavicāraṇatattva of Raghunandana
5. Śūdrācāracintāmaṇi of Vācaspatimiśra
6. Ācāracandrikā
7. Śūdrīpaddhati or Śrīdharapaddhati
8. Śūdrotpatti
9. Śūdrakarmavṛtti
10. Śūdrācārasaṃgraha or Saccūdrāhnika
11. Śūdrasmṛti
12. Śūdrāhnikācāra
13. Śūdrāhnikācārasāra of Yādavendra Śarman
14. Śūdrakṛtya of Lālabahādur
15. Śūdraśānti
16. Smṛtikaumudī of Viśveśvarabhaṭṭa
17. Śūdrapaddhati of Apipāla
18. Śūdrapaddhati of Gopāla
19. Śūdrakuladīpikā of Rāmānandaśarman
20. Śūdrasaṃkara
21. Śūdrācārasaṁgraha of Navarasaundaryabhaṭṭa
28. Śūdradharmanirṇaya
29. Śūdrāhnika of Dhanapati
30. Śūdrasaṁskṛtapratimāsaṃśeḍha
31. Śūdratarpaṇa
32. Śūdrottarakriyāprayoga
33. Śūdravāstuśānti
34. Śūdrānām ekādāśāhaprayoga
35. Śūdrasaṃskāranirṇaya
36. Śūdraśrāddhapaddhati
37. Śūdrasthālipākaprayoga or Agnimukha
38. Śūdraśrāddhaprayoga
39. Śūdrapaddhati of Śaṅkaradaivavit
40. Śūdraṣaṭkarmacandrikā
41. Śūdrasaṃskāradīpikā of Gopālabhaṭṭa
42. Śūdradharmanirūpaṇa
43. Śūdrajapavidhāna
44. Śūdrānām ekoddiṣṭavidha
45. Śūdraviveka of Rāmaśaṅkara
46. Śūdrapaddhati of Kṛṣṇarāja
47. Saccūdrasatkarmadarpaṇa
48. Śūdrācārapaddhati of Rāmadattaṭhakkura

[1] Kane takes *śūdrotpatti* and *śūdrakarmavṛtti* as names of texts from which Kṛṣna Śeṣa is quoting. *Śūdrotpatti* on page 2 of the SAS is better understood as part of the phrase, "First, on the origin of the Śūdras *śruti* states," which introduces his discussion of the genesis of the Śūdra *varṇa* by quoting from the "Puruṣa Sukta," (RV 10.90). The same, I suspect, is the case for a reference to a supposed *Śūdrakarmavṛtti*.

22. Śūdrāhnikācāra of Śrīgarbha
23. Śūdrapañcasaṁskāravidhi of Kaśyapa
24. Śūdrācāra
25. Śūdrasatkarmacandrikā
26. Śūdrapañcasaṃskāraprayoga
27. Śūdravivāhapaddhati of Śivarāma Rāvala
49. Śūdrācāravivekapaddhati of Goṇḍimiśra

The authors, provenance, patrons, or contents of most of these texts are unknown, as is how many of them are still extant and available a hundred years after they were catalogued by Theodor Aufrecht and others. Of the existing manuscripts, only three have been edited and printed: Raghunandana's *Śūdrakṛtya-vicāraṇatattva*, Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa's *Śūdrācāraśiromaṇi,* and Kamalākara's *Śūdrakamalākara.* The ultimate project would be to collect all the manuscripts, edit, and translate them, and do a comparative study of the Śūdra texts.

Prior to the fourteenth century, Śūdras were only dealt with incidentally, and mostly unsympathetically, in Dharmasūtras and śāstras prescribing the duties of the four varṇas. From the fourteenth to the seventeenth centuries, we see the production of many *nibandha*s devoted solely to them. But as Sharma pointed out, this was the cresting of a wave that had been moving forward since the Gupta era 300-600 CE.

> The process by which the religious rights of the Śūdras were enlarged and they were brought firmly within the ambit of the brāhmanical way of life seems to have reached its culmination in late medieval time. Between the fourteenth and the seventeenth century, we have a spate of books dealing with the contents and the manner of the rituals to be performed by the Śūdras.[2]

The freshet of scholarly treatises on Śūdras was partly an effect of the greater production of manuscripts in the late medieval, early modern period and the larger volume of book trade. Nevertheless, the subject had clearly become of particular concern to elite opinion because of the shifting social conditions of caste. The confluence of these two circumstances accounts for the large number of texts on Śūdras from this era.

A Descriptive Catalogue of Śūdra Texts and MSS

A brief review of some of the Śūdra texts in the compilation, omitting 28-49 as merely titles about which nothing further is known.

1**. *Śatśūdrācāraśiromaṇi*** (SAS) of Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa. Part I. Narayan Shastri Khiste ed. (1933). Part II. Gopinath Kaviraj ed. (1936). Benares: Saraswati Bhavana Texts, No. 44.
MS. 1410 *Descriptive Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Government Manuscripts Library*, deposited at BORI, serial no. 36, Vol. VII, pt. 3, compiled by Har Datta Sharma (Pune: BORI, 1997). Handwriting bad, very old, paper worn out, musty and worm-eaten. Saṁvat 1647, Phālgunnavadi 4, Thursday (4 March 1591).

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[2] Sharma, 305.

2. ***Śūdrakamalākara*** (SK) of Kamalākarabhaṭṭa. See appendix for a comparison with the SAS. Also called *Śūdradharmatattva* or *Śūdradharmastattvaprakāśa***,** the SK is the most widely known and cited treatise on the duties and religious observances of Śūdras. It is the only *śūdradharma* text translated, apart from my own translation into English of the SAS, in this case into Marathi by Javaji Dadaji, ed. Bombay: Nirnayasagara Press, 1928. The grandson of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa, brother of Dinakara, and uncle of Gāgābhaṭṭa, Kamalākara was one of the most eminent and prolific members of the famous Bhaṭṭa family. Hailing from Paiṭhaṇ, they were one of the most prominent of the Maharashtrian scholarly families who, like the Śeṣas, presided over the intellectual life of Kāśī for generations. With vast erudition Kamalākara produced works in almost every field of śāstra—*Nyāya, Vyākaraṇa, Mīmāṁsā, Vedānta*—and on every topic of Dharmaśāstra; 22 works in all, 12 on Dharmaśāstra he tells us. Kane dates Kamalākara's *floruit* to 1610-1640 C.E.[3]
The *Śūdrakamalākara* seems to have been one of the ten books comprising a massive digest called the *Dharmatattva* on the topics of *vrata, dāna, karmapāka, śānti, pūrta, ācāra, vyavahāra, prayaścitta, śūdradharma,* and *tīrthas.* It is sometimes difficult to distinguish Kamalākara's works from those of his father Nārāyaṇa and his cousin Nīlakaṇṭha since shared material and collaborative production was common in a kind of family enterprise. Something similar seems to be the case with Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa and his father Nṛsimha's *Govindārṇava*.

The voluminous *Nirṇayasindhu*, an early work, is Kamalākara's best know and was completed in 1612 C.E. In three *paricchedas* are discussed the proper time for various religious observances, *vratas*, *saṃ-skāras*, *sapiṇḍa*, consecration of images, auspicious times (*muhūrtas*) for sowing etc., buying cattle and horses etc., *śrāddha*, *āśauca*, rites for the dead, rites for *satī* (Kamalākara's own mother was a *satī*), and *saṃnyāsa*.

3. ***Śūdradharmoddyota*** of Viśveśvarabhaṭṭa, aka Gāgābhaṭṭa.

Manuscript deposited at the British Library. Mss no. 1652/2800 according to Eggeling, ed. *Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office*: vol. I. Part III (1891), p. 525. Gāgābhaṭṭa is dated by Kane to c. 1620-1685 and by Vajpeyi to 1640-1700 C.E., and is the son of Dinakarabhaṭṭa, whose digest, the *Dinakaroddhyota*, includes the *Śūdradharmoddyota* and the *Kāyasthadharmadīpa* (printed text at BORI in *Rājavādyāñcī Gāgābhaṭṭī*, ptd. K. T. Gupte, Poona, 1919, App. pp. 1-23). He also wrote a *Kāyasthapaddhati*, Bombay, 1871-2. Gāgābhaṭṭa is perhaps best known for the works he composed for Śivājī's *abhiṣeka*, the *Śivarājapraśasti*, and *Śrīśivarājābhiṣekaprayoga*.

4. ***Śūdrakṛtyavicāraṇatattva*** (SKVT) of Raghunandana Bhaṭṭācārya. Bengal. Dated by Kane to 1490-1570 CE and roughly contemporary to Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa. SKVT is in vol. II of the *Smṛtitattva*, ed. by Jivananda Vidyāsāgara, Calcutta: Narayana Yantra, 1895, pp. 633-36. Vide Kane 1974, vol. I, sec. 102. The second part is the *Śūdrāhnika*. Raghunandana was the last great writer of the Bengali School of Dharmaśāstra and was honored with the name simply of *Smārta*. The SKVT is included, as is often the case, as part of a larger digest, here as one of the 28 *tattvas* or sections of the encyclopedic *Smṛtitattva*.

Raghunandana was a leading exponent of the view that in the Kaliyuga Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas had disappeared and there were only two *varṇas*, Brāhmaṇa and Śūdra.[4] This view endorsed his promotion of the worthy *śūdratva* of the new rising professional classes of physicians, lawyers, accountants, scribes, and civil servants in Bengal at this time, viz., the Ambaṣṭhas, Vaidyas, and Kāyasthas who now with the Brahmins were the elite of Bengali society. In his *Śuddhitattva,* Raghunandana classifies the Ambaṣṭhas and Kāyasthas as "good" Śūdras.[5]

The idea that there were only two *varṇas* was close to the actuality, for Kṣatriyas had a diminished part in the socio-historical development of eastern India after the Pāla and Sena eras and Muslim conquest. In the 16th century, Hindu feudatories in Bengal called themselves Kāyasthas instead of Kṣatriyas. A two-caste system became the reality not only in Bengal, but in Orissa, Assam, and Tamil Nadu as well. In many regions of India, the four-varṇa mapping was always sociologically inaccurate.

As a Vandyaghaṭīya Brāhmaṇa jurist and intellectual, Raghunandana argued that Śūdras now filled the vacant place of the Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas and merited a caste status commensurate with their high position in Bengali society. In the shifting, up-and-down fortunes of caste, some high castes had sunk in social status. Kāyathas may once

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[3] This précis draws mostly on Kane 1930, sec. 106, 432-437.
[4] The passage from the *Śuddhitattva* stating this view is quoted in *Origin and Growth of Caste in India*, 83.
[5] Dutt, *Origin and Growth*, 99-100.

have been degraded Brahmins, and *sat*-Śūdra Baṇiks, once Vaiśyas. Now upwardly mobile Śūdra Kāyathas, Ambaṣṭhas, and Vaidyas wanted an improved caste profile to match their social success. Rising Śūdra classes contested their stigma and looked to Dharmaśāstrīs to rehabilitate them, improve the image of the Śūdra, and validate their social dominance. This is a good example of the "caste struggle" always on going, but perhaps with extra intensity in this period. Raghunananda, like Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa, was responding to social and political pressures to remove or lessen the disqualifications and amend the rites/rights of Śūdras enshrined in Dharmaśāstra.

5. ***Śūdrācāracintāmaṇi*** of Vācaspati Miśra. Voluminous writer of nibandhas and most eminent jurist of the Mithilā School (*fl.* 1450-1480 CE).[6] He wrote many *cintāmaṇi*- and *nirṇaya*-suffixed texts on various topics of *smṛti* ritual and legal procedure. The *Śūdrācāracintāmaṇi* is a digest of the religious duties of Śūdras and became a standard work. In the colophon, he is described as the legal adviser of Mahārājādhiraja Harinārāyaṇa of the Kāmeśvara kings of Mithilā. He also wrote an *Ācāracintāmaṇi* on the daily rites of Vājasaneyins, which are recommended for Śūdras in other *smṛti*s. CC ms. L 2001. 8.[7]

6. ***Ācāracandrikā***. A Colebrooke manuscript in Eggeling, 1891: 524, No. 1648/554. A "compendium of the duties of Śūdras" by Śrīnātha Ācāryacūdamaṇi, author of the oldest commentary on Jīmūtavahana's *Dāyabhāga* and teacher of Raghunandana. Dated to c. 1475-1525.[8]

7. ***Śrīdharapaddhati***. Alternatively entitled ***Śūdrīpaddhati***. A manual of ritual duties for Śūdra women by Kṛṣṇatanaya Gopāla "Udāsa"; the patron is one Rāmadāsavijaya, the scribe Haridaṭṭa, the location Deuliyāgrāma, and the date 1442 CE.[9] CC ms. Rgb. 254 (fr.). This text gives Śūdras ten *saṃskāra*s.

8. ***Śūdrotpatti***. CC ms. B. 3, 130. The mention in SAS 2 is probably not a text as Kane takes it to be, but simply the phrase, "origin of the Śūdras."

9. ***Śūdrakarmavṛtti.*** Also probably not a text but a phrase in SAS 33 meaning "Śūdra duties and conduct."

10. ***Śūdrācārasamgraha*** or ***Sacchūdrācāra*** of Navarasasaundarya Bhaṭṭa. *Catalogus Catalogorum*, p. 650. Burnell 133a.

11. ***Śūdrasmṛti***. *Catalogus Catalogorum*, Oppert 5192, p. 659.

12. ***Śūdrāhnikācāra*** of Śrīgarbha, son of Sūdhana Miśra. Palm leaf ms. dated *śake* 1462 (1540 CE). In the preface to *Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts* XI, p. 14. Haraparasād Śāstri makes the interesting remark that this text "is also the remnant of another decayed school of *Smṛti*," and is based on a work on the same subject by Keśava Miśra. NSM 3, pp. 241, No. 2151.

13. ***Śūdrāhnikācārasāra*** of Yādavendra Śarman, composed for Raghudeva, prince of Gauḍa, son of Vāsudeva. NSM 2, 1, pp. 373-5 No. 371. Fol. 67, line six Benj. M. M. Haraparasād Śāstri, *Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, new series, vol. I, 373.

14. ***Śūdrakṛtya*** of Lālabahādur. *Catalogus Catalogorum, p. 659.* Rādh. 19.

15. ***Śūdraśānti***. On the manner in which a Śūdra should perform rites such as *japa*, *homa*, and *ārcana*. MS. no. 3449 in A *Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library*, *Madras*, by M. Raṅgācārya and Rao Bahadur, Vol. VII. *Dharmaśāstra* (Madras, 1909), p. 2588. The *Śūdraśānti* is catalogued

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[6] Kane 1930: I, section 98, 399-405; L. Rocher,

[7] For more on Śrīnātha see L. Rocher for his edition and translation of the *Vyavahāracintāmaṇi: A Digest of Hindu Legal Procedure*, Gentse Orientalistische Bijdragen (Gent, 1956).

[8] See L. Rocher, *Jīmūtavāhana's Dāyabhāga: The Hindu Law of Inheritance in Bengal* (OUP, 2002), 15.

[9] Vajpeyi, 21, n. 4. An example of a *śūdradharma* text the contents of which may not be evident from the title since it does begin with "Śūdra."

together with the *Śūdravastuśānti* and *Śūdrapañcasaṃskāra* by the *Catalogus Catalogorum* as Madras 97, Government Oriental Office Library.

16. ***Smṛtikaumudī***. Manuscript deposited at the British Library. MS. no. 1649/2515 in Eggeling ed. *Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office*: vol. I. Part III (1891), p. 524. There are several texts by this name. Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa is presumably quoting the *Smṛtikaumudī* composed by Viśveśvarabhaṭṭa for King Mandanapāla. This text is also referred to as the *Śūdradharmabodhinī* and the *Śūdradharmotpaladyotinī.* Viśveśvarabhaṭṭa's authorship of a commentary on the *Mitākṣarā* called *Subhodinī* may have suggested the first title. Kane dates the literary activity of Mandanapāla and Viśveśvarabhaṭṭa to 1360-1390 CE.[10] Madanapāla of the Ṭāka family ruled Kath on the Jumna north of Delhi and was said to have emulated the fame of Bhoja as a great patron of Sanskrit learning. Viśveśvara seems to have been from the Draviḍa south and moved to northern India to become one of the leading authorities of the Benares School of Law. Benares *śāstrins* initiated the new study of Śūdras and it remained a special interest of that school.

After the introductory verses of the *Smṛtikaumudī* dedicated to Madanapāla, Viśveśvara says that since previous authors have discussed the *dharma*s of the three twice-born *varṇa*s at length, but have not given the topic of Śūdras similar attention, he, therefore, would elucidate the dharma of the last *varṇa*. This suggests another reason for the appearance of Śūdra texts: the opening up of a new field of endeavor for ambitious Dharmaśāstrins to make a name in, a new vogue of intellectual fashion within the closed world of Dharmaśāstra.

Viśveśvara says that the *Smṛtikaumudī* is the "little sister" of his larger digest the *Madanapārijāta.* The work is divided into four *kalollāsa*s and subdivided into *kiraṇa*s (rays). The topics discussed are many of those dealt with in the SAS:

I. The two kinds of Śūdras: the *kevalaśūdra* or pure Śūdra and the mixed Śūdra, i.e. born by a Śūdra woman to a man of a higher caste. The more important distinction for Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa is between pious and dutiful *sat*-Śūdras and *asat*-Śūdras, rather than purity of caste.
II. The Śūdra's eligibility for various rites and activities such as the study of the Vedas and *Smṛtis*; performance of the *saṁskāras* (*garbhādāna*, *nāmakaraṇa*, etc.); twilight prayers (*sandhyāvandana);* keeping sacred fires; the Śūdras capacity for attaining knowledge of Brahman.
III. The different forms and rites of marriage, (*kanyādāna*, etc.); prohibited degrees of relationship (*sāpiṇḍya*); normal and emergency dharma of Śūdras, impurity (*āśauca*) for Śūdras; the *śrāddhas* for Śūdras; letting a bull loose in honor of the dead (*vṛṣotsarga*).
IV. Śūdras' daily observances: *śauca*, *dantadhāvana*, *snāna*, *brahmayajña*, *tarpaṇa*, *vaiśvadeva*, daily *śrāddha*, and *bhojana*.

17. ***Śūdrapaddhati*** of Apipāla. Palm-leaf codex in Bengali script on the duties of Śūdras. MS. copied in *śake* 1442, 1520 C.E. in Gauḍadeśa. *Catalogogus Catalogorum* p. 659. MS. no. 1980 in MR. Haraparasād Śāstri, *Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, new series, p. 302. Apipāla states that he based his text on an earlier work by Somamiśra, showing how texts standardizing the religious duties of Śūdras were not new.

18. ***Śūdrapaddhati*** of Gopāla. A large work with a section called *saṃskāradīpikā* giving the *pañcamahāyajñas* and ten *saṃskāras* to Śūdras: *garbhādāna, puṃsavana, anavalobhana, sīmantonnaya, jātakarma, nāmakaraṇa, niṣkramaṇa, annaprāśana, cūḍākarma,* and *vivāha*. Post 1640 CE.

19. ***Śūdrakuladīpikā*** of Rāmānandaśarman. A genealogy and history of the Kāyasthas of Bengal. *Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts*. Rajendralāla Mitra, Calcutta 1871-90, 612.

20. **Śūdrasaṃkara**. Ulwar cat. No. 1492.

21. ***Śūdrasaṃskāradīpikā*** of Gopālabhaṭṭa**.** Baroda O. I. 8975.

22. ***Śūdrāhnikācāra*** of Śrīgarbha. Dated *śake* 1462, 1540-41 CE.

[10] Kane, I, sec. 93, pp. 381-89.

23. ***Śūdrapañcasaṁskāravidhi*** of Kaśyapa. *CC* p. 659, Oppert II, 4191.

24. ***Śūdrācāra***. Palm-leaf treatise on the prescribed duties and conduct of Śūdras. MS. no. 2976 in *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library*, *Madras*, ed. by M. Raṅgācārya, vol. V. Dharmaśāstra, Madras, 1909. Based on extracts from the Purāṇas only dealing with the duties of Śūdras.

25. ***Śūdrasatkarmacandrikā*** of Rāmānuja Yogī. On the ten *saṁskāra*s conferred on *sat*-Śūdras who have become Śrī Vaiṣṇavas. MS. no. 3816 in *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library*, vol. VII. Dharmaśāstra...

26. ***Śūdrapañcasaṃskāraprayoga***. This is probably not a *dharmaśāstra* dealing with the *pañcamahāyajñas* or other five Vedic rites of passage, but a description of the *dikṣā* of a Śūdra into Śrī Vaiṣṇavism with the five *saṃskāra*s of devotion to Hari: *tapa*, *pundra*, *nama*, *mantra*, and *yaga*. Mss. nos. 3813, 3814, and 3815 in *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library*, *Madras*, vol. VII. Dharmaśāstra.

27. ***Śūdravivāhapaddhati*** of Śivarāma Rāvala. MS. 1409 in *Descriptive Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Government Manuscripts Library*, deposited at BORI, serial no. 36, Vol. VII, pt. 3, compiled by Har Datta Sharma (Pune: BORI, 1997). This is a handbook of marriage rites for Śūdras, which begins:

> Reverence to Śrī Gaṇapati. Now a marriage manual. First of all betrothal. It is said in the bhāṣya of Harihara that when a Śūdra man marries a Śūdra woman, only the rite should be performed without Vedic mantras.

and ends:

> He shall give a large donation to the Brāhmaṇas of various *gotras* for the performance of this rite, thereby pleasing the divinity of the rite. Thus is concluded the rule for this rite. A handbook for Śūdras for self-recitation in the scripture of the Lord.

3

The Author and Date of the SAS

I begin with the ritual lament of everyone who writes about even the most prominent figures in Indian cultural and intellectual history—the lack of information. That said, the case is somewhat better for Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa, since we have relatively quite a bit of information about him and the Śeṣa family from his own works, references to him in the works of descendants, students, and critics, and assorted documents—Brahmin council *nirṇayapatras*, lineage lists, and property titles. For most Indian writers, we have little or nothing at all. We may be better informed about him partly due to the larger volume of scholarly manuscript output in this period.[1]

Dating Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa

Not a few attempts have been made to piece together the evidence for the genealogy and date of Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa. Dates range from the 12th to the 18th centuries. Colebrooke made his father, Nṛsiṁha, a contemporary of Lakṣmīdhara, [2] while M. Krishnamachariar puts Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa in the first half the 18th century.[3] Both are clearly too far out. Yudhiṣṭhira Mīmāṁsaka dates him to 1418.[4] Pingree's dating of his father Nṛsiṁha, author of the *Govindārṇava*, to *fl.* 1409 would also put Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa in the 15th century.[5] Kane dates him to c. 1500 and to 1520-1590.[6] The editors of the published *Encyclopedia of Indian Philosophies* initially suggested a *floruit* of 1510, later revising it on-line to 1540.[7]

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[1] Sheldon Pollock, "The Death of Sanskrit," *Comparative Studies in History and Society*. 43 (2) April, 2001: 392-426. The "spate of books" on *śūdradharma* may simply be the result, in part at least, of the more voluminous textual output in this period.
[2] *A Digest of Hindu Law on Succession with a Commentary by Jagannātha Tercapanchānana*, tr. by H. T. Colebrooke, in 2 volumes, 4th edition (Higginbotham and Co.: Madras: 1874), 2: xix.
[3] M. Krishnamachariar, *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1970), 653.
[4] Yudhiṣṭhira Mīmāṁsaka, *Saṁskṛta Vyākaraṇa-śāstra kā Itihāsa*, 3 vols. (Sonipat: Rāmalāya Kapur Trust, 1973), 529-30.
[5] David Pingree, *Census of the Exact Sciences in Sanskrit*, Series A, vol. 4 (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1981), 162.
[6] P.V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra* (1930) vol. 1, 641 and 686-87, respectively. Vajpeyi accepts CE 1520-1590, *Politics of Complicity*, 15.
[7] Harold Coward and K. Kunjunni Raja eds., *The Philosophy of the Grammarians,* Encyclopedia of Indian Philosophies vol. 5 (Princeton University Press, 1989), 215. On-line *Encyclopedia of Indian Philosophies*, ed. Karl Potter (Oct. 2007), http://faculty.washington.edu /kpotter/ckeyt/txt4.htm.

Other pieces of evidence, however, move Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa up toward the second half of the 16th century. His brother, Ṡeṣa Cintāmaṇi, completed the *Parimala* in 1553.[8] Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa is documented as active in the cultural life of Vārāṇasī in 1583.[9] Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa also wrote the *Kaṁsavadha* for Govārdhanadhāri, the son of Ṭoḍaramalla, Akbar's minister of finance. Ṭoḍaramalla died in 1586.[10] The *Kaṁsavadha*, consequently, was written most likely sometime in the second half of the 16th century.

Because of his connections with persons in the 17th century, some have Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa living into the early 1600's.[11] This is not out of the realm of possibility considering that Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa's son, Śeṣa Nārāyaṇa, composed the *Akhaṇḍamañjarī* in 1611,[12] and a student of his named Jayantabhaṭṭa wrote the *Tattvacandra*, an abbreviation of the *Prakriykaumudī*, in 1631.[13]

The vivid part Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa is reported to play in the saga of Śivājī and Gāgābhaṭṭa also suggests a recently alive and influential personality. Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa or the elder of his two sons, Vīreśvara, was the guru of several well-known figures who flourished in the next century: Jagannātha Paṇḍita (1605-1666) and Annaṁbhaṭṭa (a. of the *Tarkasaṃgraha*, c. 1623).[14] Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa's other son, Śeṣa Nārāyaṇa was writing in the period 1600-1611.[15]

Proposed dates, as you can see, are all over the place. Some evidence puts him toward the beginning of the century, some toward the end. Recent histories of Sanskrit literature and encyclopedias now regularly assign Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa to the 16th century.[16] As it turns out, a broad *floruit* of the 16th century does seem to be more or less correct and as

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[8] R.R. Mitra and M.M. Haraprasasda Sastri eds., *Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, vol. IX (Delhi: Sharada Prakashan, 1990), ms. no. 3115, 195.

[9] The documentary evidence referenced in Gopī Nāth Kavirāj, *Kāśī kī Sārasvata Sādhanā* (Patna: Vihāra Rāṣṭrabhāṣā Pariṣad, 1965), 14; Sheldon Pollock, "New Intellectuals in Seventeenth-Century India," *The Indian Economic and Social History Review*, 38, 1 (2001): 21; and Dinesh Chandra Bhattacharya, "Raghupati Upadhyaya," *Journal of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute* 5 (Allahabad, 1947): 379-381.

[10] Kane, HD, I, 423.

[11] Ranganathasvami Aryavaraguru has Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa flourishing at the beginning of the 17th century in his seminal study of the Ṡeṣas, "On the Śeṣas," *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XLI (1912). Vajpeyi (15) gives two dates for KS: 1520-1590 and late 16th-early 17th century. Rosalind O'Hanlon thinks that as an "active and authoritative adult" in 1583, on the evidence of the Devarukha document, KS may have lived on into the next century. Email-to the author.

[12] Parshuram Paranjape, personal communication, Vaidik Samshodhan Mandal, Maharashtra Vidyapeeth, Pune, January, 2009. K. Parameswara Aithal, *Veda-Lakṣana*, *Vedic Ancillary Literature: A Descriptive Bibliography* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1993), 81-82.
. 81-82.

[13] Namely by Shripad Krishna Belvalkar, *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar* (Delhi: Bharatiya Vidya Prakashan, 1976), 42. Johannnes Bronkhorst says the date is uncertain in "Bhaṭṭojī Dīkṣita on Sphoṭa," *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 33 (1) 3-41, 19n64.

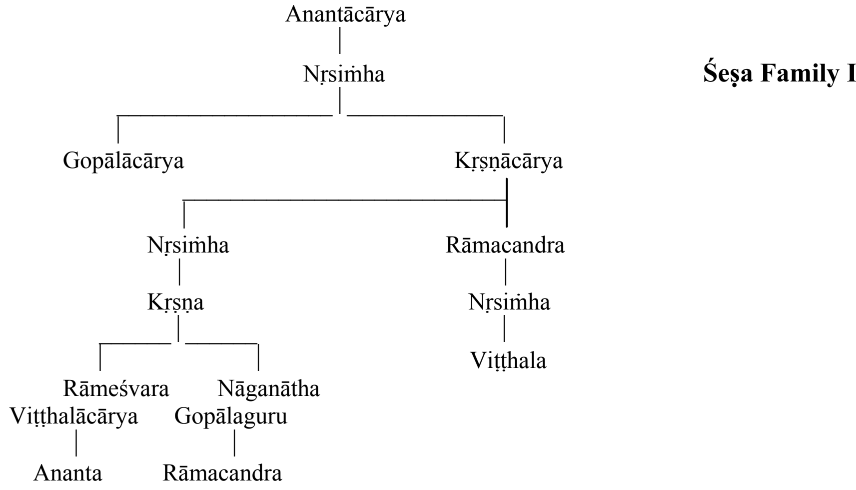
[14] Ranganathasvami Aryavaraguru thinks that Vireśvara was also Bhaṭṭojī Dīkṣita's *guru*.

[15] Dr. Parshuram Paranjape, personal communication.

[16] For example, s.v. "Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa" in Ganga Ram Garg ed., *International Encyclopedia of Indian Literature*, vol. I, pt. 2 (Delhi: Mittal Pub., 1987), 463.

exact a date as we are going to get, given the scrappy nature of the evidence. After much sifting and resifting of the evidence, I have dug up a few small pieces of new evidence confirming a broadly 16th century date.

A large part of the problem in dating Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa has been the puzzle of the genealogical connection between him and an earlier line of Śeṣas dated to the late 14th and early 15th centuries. In his *Prasāda*, a commentary on the *Prakriyākaumudī* of his grandfather Rāmacandra, Viṭṭhala gives the genealogy of his family, who acquired the title, Śeṣa.[17]



Śeṣa Family I

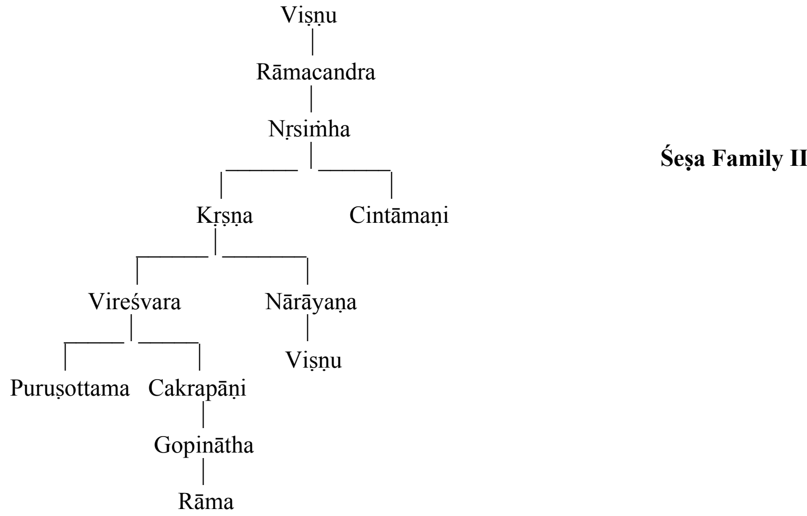
Viṭṭhala is the son of the second Nṛsiṁha. He extols in the customary gleaming terms his forebears as supereminent in all branches of learning, as veritable incarnations of Śeṣa and Śambhu. K. P. Trivedi dates Rāmacandra to the latter half of the 14th century.[18] The puzzle is that Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa and his father do not seem to fit into this family tree.

There are two Rāmacandras, three Nṛsiṁhas, and two Kṛṣṇas in Trivedi's stemma. We know next to nothing about them. Could one of the Kṛṣṇas be our Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa? Possibly, but improbable for a number of reasons. In this early line of Śeṣas, Viṭṭhala is the son of the author of the *Prakriyākaumudī*, not Kṛṣṇa. They are from Āndhra, not

[17] Much of what follows is indebted to K. P. Trivedi's introduction to his edition of *The Prakriyākaumudī of Ṛāmacandra*, with the *Prasāda* of Viṭṭhala, *Bombay Sanskrit and Prakrit Series* LXXVII, 2 vols. (Bombay, 1925), I: xxxiii-lvi. Showing how confounding Hindu genealogies are is another in R. Aryavaraguru 253 provided by a Vireśvara, supposedly a descendant of the author of the *Prakriyākaumudī*: Rāmacandra, Nṛsiṁha, Nārāyaṇa, Chakrapāṇi, Vireśvara, Śambhu, Gopāla, and Vireśvara himself. This stemma varies considerably from Viṭṭhala's, as do the expanded family trees in Yudhiṣṭhira Mīmāṁsaka 407-8.
[18] Trivedi, Introduction, xliv.

Mahārāṣṭra, as the later Śeṣas are.[19] Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa criticizes Viṭṭhala in his *Prasāda* referring to him as *prāc*, i.e., as a predecessor.[20] Therefore, Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa the "Prakāśakṛt" is later than Viṭṭhala. He cannot be Viṭṭhala's great grandfather Kṛṣṇācārya, also an accomplished and famous Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa in the early to mid 14th century, accepting Trivedi's chronology.

In the *Govindārṇava*, Nṛsiṁha traces his ancestry back to Viṣṇu.[21] According to V.A. Kanole, Viṣṇu migrated to Vārāṇasī around 1400.[22] The rest of the family tree is given in the *Dharmānubandhiślokacaturdaśī*.[23]



The two family trees clearly do not match. Śeṣa Family II seems to be is a different branch or later generation of the Śeṣas or a different line of altogether. They are some of Kanole's Kāśī Śeṣa paṇḍits.[24]

[19] Trivedi, Introduction, li; B.P. Tripāṭhī's Prāstāvikam to the *Prakāśa*, ed. Muralīdhara Miśra, Sarasvatībhavana Granthamālā 111 (Varanasi: Sampurnanand Sanskrit Vishvavidyalaya, 1977), p. ā; and Durgāprasāda and K.P. Parab's edition of the *Kaṁsavadha* (Bombay: Nirṇayasāgara Press, 1988), 1.
[20] Trivedi, xlviii.
[21] R. Aryavaraguru, 247-248.
[22] V.A. Kanole, "नांदेडच्चें शेष घराणें" in *Mahamahopadhyaya Prof. D. V. Potdar Sixty-First Birthday Commemoration Volume: Studies in Historical and Indological Research presented to M. M. Prof. Datto Vaman Potdar*, ed. Surendra Nath Sen (Poona, D.K. Sathe, 1950) 56-73 (Marathi Section), p. 60.
[23] *Dharmānubandhiślokacaturdaśī with a commentary*, ed. Gopī Nātha Kavirāja, *Princess of Wales Sarasavti Bhavana Texts* 22 (Benares, 1927), 1.
[24] Kanole, 60-63.

The Date of his Father, Nṛsiṁha

The attribution of the SAS to the famous Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa in the 16th century hinges on the date for his father Nṛsiṁha, the author of the *Govindārṇava*. David Pingree and Kane appear to identify him with Nṛsiṁha, the son of Rāmacandra, author of the *Prakriyākaumudī* and *Kālanirṇayadīpikā*. The problem is that, with the dates given for them, *fl.* 1409 or CE 1400-1450 for Nṛsiṁha and *fl.* 1380-1400 for Rāmacandra, these men seem much too early to be Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa's father and grandfather.[25] If Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa is alive in the second half of the next century, a gap of 70 to 110 years opens between him and his putative forbears.

I considered several stopgaps. Nṛsiṁha and his son may have been very long-lived men, as frugally and purely living vegetarian Brahmins often are, and Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa had a long life and illustrious career spanning the entire century, or even extending a few years back into the 15th century. This was suggested to me by my Sanskrit paṇḍit Manisha Phanasalkar and was discussed at length as a possibility.[26] It is a stretch time-wise. A second suggestion was that if we take Kane's latest date of 1450 for the composition of the *Govindārṇava*, assume Nṛsiṁha wrote it when he was a very young man, and push back the birth date of a very long lived Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa a decade or two, it all can be made to fit.

Such stopgaps, however, became moot, upon discovering that Kane and Pingree'*s* early identification is open to question and the Nṛsiṁha dated to *fl.* 1409 or 1400-1450 may be in another, earlier line and did not write the *Govindārṇava*. Nṛsiṁha, son of Rāmacandra, author of the *Prakriyākaumudī*, and Nṛsiṁha, the father of Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa and author of the *Govindārṇava* are probably two entirely different people. I call them Nṛsiṁha I and Nṛsiṁha II for clarity.

There are seven reasons for rejecting Nṛsiṁha I's authorship of the *Govindārṇava*.

I. These early Śeṣas, according to P.K. Trivedi, were from Āndhra country, the later Śeṣas from Mahārāṣṭra, possibly some place on the Godāvarī River.[27] The Nāndeḍ lineage lists firmly tie the Śeṣa family to southeast Mahārāṣṭra.[28]

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[25] Pingree, *Census* A 4, 162, A 5, 464; Kane, I, 543; Trivedi, xliv.
[26] Yudhiṣṭhira Mīmāṁsaka also suggested that Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa was *cirajīvī*, dating him to the fifteenth century, but living up to the time of Bhaṭṭojī Dīkṣita, III, 492.
[27] Trivedi, xxxviii, xlviii; vide note 18 above. Kaviraj, describes the Śeṣa *vaṁśa* as Tailaṅga Brahmins from Andhra who became interconnected with the Maharashtrian Brahmins, *Kāśī kī Sārasvata Sādhanā* 14n1.
[28] Kanole, 56-73.

II. Parshuram Paranjape believes that the *gotra*s of the earlier and later Śeṣas were completely different. The *gotra* of Rāmacandra I- Nṛsiṁha was Kauṇḍinya and the *gotra* of Rāmacandra II- Nṛsiṁha II-Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa was Vṛddha Viṣṇu. This is a weak piece of evidence, for reasons discussed later.[29] The *gotra* of the Nāndeḍ Śeṣas was Pārāśara.[30]

III. No source ascribes the *Govindārṇava* to Nṛsiṁha I, not even his son Viṭṭhala in his *Prasāda* does so. Pingree simply assumes this.

IV. In the *Govindārṇava*, Nṛsiṁha eulogizes his father Rāmacandra as his guru in conventionally superlative language without mentioning any of the works for which he was famous: the *Prakriyākaumudī* and the *Kālanirṇayadīpikā*.

V. Some manuscripts of the *Kālanirṇayavivaraṇa* have a verse giving the date of composition as *śake* 1331 (1409).[31] Pingree unwarrantably assigns this date to the *Govindārṇava* as well. Kane gives no primary source for his statement that it was compiled in 1400-1450. In short, there is no solid reason for dating the *Govindārṇava* to 1409, or any time in the 15th century for that matter.

VI. The dates for Rāmacandra I and Nṛsiṁha I seem to be firmly pinned down. Datable manuscripts supply a *terminus ante quem*: Kaviraj says that Nṛsiṁha I made a copy (*pratilipi*) of his father's *Prakriyākaumudī* in CE 1423. D. R. Bhandarkar and K. P. Trivedi date another manuscript to CE 1437. Based on this, Trivedi puts Rāmacandra I in the latter half of the 14th century. His other arguments for a late 14th century date are quite convincing.[32] A Nṛsiṁha whose son is living in the latter 16th century is unlikely chronologically to be the son of a Rāmacandra *fl.* 1380-1400. Moreover, another manuscript of the *Prakriyākaumudī* was copied in 1527 CE by Rāmacandra's great grandson ("śrīrāmacandrācaryasutasutasutenālekhi"). He does not mention the name of his celebrated father, an *argumentum ex silentio* that his father was not Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa, nor is he one of his two sons, Śeṣa Vireśvara or Śeṣa Nārāyaṇa.

VII. Both Trivedi and Kaviraj in their biographies of Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa treat the early and later Śeṣas as separate lines. Trivedi regards Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa as an entirely unrelated person from a different region.

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[29] For the Kauṇḍinya *gotra* see Viṭṭhala, *Prasāda*, in *The Prakriyākaumudī of Ṛāmacandra*, ed. by P.K. Trivedi, Bombay Sanskrit and Prakrit Series No. LXXVII, 2 vols. (Bombay, 1925), I: 1. v. 3. See *Veda-Lakṣana*, 388-89 for the textual evidence that Mr. Paranjape thinks proves Vṛddha Viṣṇu is the *gotra* of the Śeṣa family. For fuller discussion, see my section on "The Gotra of Parshuram Paranjape."

[30] Kanole, 57.

[31] Pingree, *Census* A 3, 202: śake śaśāñkānilaviśvasaṃmite virodhivarṣe sitapakṣake ca/ somenabhhsyārya nṛsiṃha nāma bhiḥ saddīpikāyāvivṛtiḥ samāptā//

[32] See Trivedi xliv-xlv.

> Kṛishṇa himself shows in the concluding verses of his commentary that he was the son of Narasimha who was born in the pure family of Śesha.[33]

He agrees with the editor of the *Kaṃsavadha* that Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa is a Maharashtrian and rejects R. G. Bhandarkar's identification of him with the nephew of Rāmacandra I.[34]

> Moreover, Kṛishṇa, the author of the *Kaṃsavadha* and the *Prakāśa* belonged to the Mahārāṣṭra; while Kṛishṇa, the nephew of Rāmacandra, to the Āndradeśa.[35]

Kaviraj treats them without explanation as completely unrelated people. In the chapters on the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, he describes Rāmacandra and his son Nṛsiṁha as Tailaṅga Brāhmaṇas from Āndhradeśa.[36] In the section on the 16th century he speaks of Nṛsiṁha, the author of the *Govindārṇava*, and his son Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa as Maharashtrian paṇḍits with no connection whatever with their predecessors.[37] Later on he appears to distinguish Śeṣa Rāmacandra, Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa's grandfather, from Rāmacandra, the author of the *Prakriyākaumudī*.[38]

These seven considerations makes it unnecessary, indeed difficult, to link the second set of Śeṣas to the first.[39] The time gap is irrelevant. One is free to put Nṛsiṁha, the father of Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa and the author of the *Govindārṇava*, in the second half of the 15th century or, for that matter, in the 16th century as the NCC does.

In conclusion, the two sets of Śeṣas seem to be earlier and later family lines bearing the name Śeṣa. Nonetheless, there remains the very real possibility, as always when dealing with Indian chronologies, that the early dates for the first Rāmacandra and Nṛsiṁha are simply wrong. Erroneous conclusions are often drawn from misdating and misreading of manuscripts combined with the misinformation recycled in secondary sources. As Kanole has shown, there were many lines of Śeṣas, nine in Nāndeḍ alone, plus the Kāśī branch whose relation to those in Nāndeḍ cannot be exactly pinned down.[40]

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33 Trivedi xlviii.
34 Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar, *Report on the Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Bombay Presidency during the years 1883-1884* (Bombay: Govt. Central Press, 1884), cited in Trivedi xlvii.
35 Trivedi li.
36 Kaviraj 5-8.
37 Kaviraj 14-15.
38 Kaviraj 34n1.
39 My conclusion, following Trivedi, that the later Śeṣas are different from the earlier ones from Āndhra was independently reached, as I discovered *ex post facto*, by V. B. Bhagavat, in the introduction to *Sūktiratnakāra* (Commentary on Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya) by Śeṣa Nārāyaṇa, fasc. I: Āhnikas 1 and 2, edited by B.V. Bhagavat, Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series, No. 140 (Pune, 1999), 14. Robert A. Hueckstedt also follows Trivedi in "Some Later Argument on *iko yaṇ aci*," *Indian Linguistic Studies: Festscrift in Honor of George Cardona*, edited by Madhav Deshpande and Peter Hook, (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 2002), 49-53.
40 Kanole, 70-3.

The *Govindārṇava*

The *Govindārṇava* is a general digest of religious practice.[41] It has two other names: the *Smṛtisāgara* and *Dharmatattvāvaloka*. Śeṣa Nṛsiṁha says in his introduction that he compiled this *dharmaprabandha* at the command of Govindacandra, or Govindadeva, the King (*mahārājādhirāja*) of Kāśī. Julius Eggeling describes Nṛsiṁha as his minister, as the compilers of such "law books" often were. The work is divided into six sections (*vīci*s, waves), on *saṁskāra*, *āhnika*, *śrāddha*, *śuddhi*, *kāla*, and *prāyaścitta*.

In the Preface to *A Digest of Hindu Law*, Colebrooke dates Nṛsiṁha to the time of Lakṣmīdhara.

> Lacshmidhara composed a treatise on administrative justice by command of Govindra Chandra, a king of Casi, sprung from the Vastava race of Cayasthas. He is likewise author of a Digest entitled Calpataru, which is often cited. By command of the same prince, Narasinha, son of Ramacandra the grammarian and philosopher, composed a law-tract entitled Govindarnava, and several other treatises.[42]

Lakṣmīdhara is c. 1125 and is the author of the huge and influential corpus of Hindu law, the *Kṛtyakalpataru*.[43] A date in the 12th century is far too early. Colebrooke fell into this mistake because Nṛsiṁha was also patronized by a Govindacandra, king of Kāśī, but four centuries later. Both Nṛsiṁha and Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa were clients of the kings of Kāśī. Nṛsiṁha wrote the *Govindārṇava* for Govindacandra and Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa wrote the *Pārijātaharaṇa* and the *Padacandrikā* for Narottama, his younger brother.[44] In the *Govindārṇava*, Nṛsiṁha calls them the Śrīvāstakas of Tāṇḍava or Tāṇḍetikā, a town near Kāśī.[45] In the *Pārijātaharaṇa*, Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa calls them the Śrīvāstakas of Tāṇḍavapura.[46] The *Catalogus Catalogorum* dates the Śrīvāstakas to the 16th century—most probable, but unsupported by any primary source.[47]

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[41]See Kane for the little we know about the *Govindārṇava,* still in manuscript only. Eggeling gives an extract from the introductory verses: no. 1566 in Julius Eggeling, *Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office*, Part I. *Vedic Manuscripts* (London: 1887), 484.
[42] *A Digest of Hindu Law on Succession,* xix.
[43] Kane I. 315-18.
[44] *Pārijātaharaṇacampū,* ed. Dvijendra Nātha Miśra, *Savasvatībhavana Granthamālā* 132 (Varanasi: Sampurnanand Sanskrit Vishvavidyalaya, 1991). In stanza 18, Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa names Narottama, the brother of Govindacandra, as the patron. The NCC is the source for the *Padacaṅdrikā*.
[45] Verse 13 in Ulwar extract 304, Peter Peterson, *Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Library of H.H. the Maharaja of Ulwar* [Alwar] (Bombay: Times of India Press, 1892), 112-117.
[46] PJH vv. 9-10.
[47] The entry for *Govindārṇava*, NCC, VI, 212, mistakenly has "Śrīvāstava." I have attempted to date these Śrī Vāstakas without success.

Eggeling lists a number of the authorities Nṛsiṁha cites.[48] An attempt to date the *Govindārṇava* by these quoted authorities was inconclusive. Most are in the 12th-14th centuries. From the 14th century there is Hemādri, Mādhavā-cārya, and Viśveśvarabhaṭṭa. Nṛsiṁha quotes some of the authors and works his son does—Aparārka, Medhātithi, Mitākṣarā, Kalpataru, etc.—and many he does not. What *is* noticeable is that Nṛsiṁha cites a number of early texts also cited by other 16th and 17th century authors: Dalapati, Raghunandana, Ṭoḍaramalla, Kamalākara, Nārāyanab-haṭṭa, and Acala Dviveda.

The sources that quote the *Govindārṇava* are more telling. Bhaṭṭojī Dīkṣita, Kamalākara Bhaṭṭa (*Nirṇayasindhu*, 1612), Divākara Kale, Śambhu Bhaṭṭa, Nāgojī Bhaṭṭa, and Mitramiśra (*Vrataprakāśa*) belong to the 17th or 18th centuries. That the *Govindārṇava* is not cited in texts earlier than these suggests a recent date in the 16th century for its composition and strengthens the case for a Nṛsiṁha writing in the second half of the 15th or first half of the 16th century.[49]

To sum up, attribution of the *Govindārṇava* to a Nṛsiṁha dated to 1409-1450 is wrong. The author is probably a later Nṛsiṁha. When he compiled the *Govindārṇava* is an open question, anytime from 1450 on. He wrote it for Govindacandra of the Śrīvāstakas, the ruling family of Kāśī, perhaps not as grand a potentate as Lakṣmīdhara's Govindacandra of the Gāhaḍavālas, the Emperor of Kanauj, who reigned (c.1104-1154) over the city in the era of Muslim invasion, but rather a local princeling in the 16th century. That Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa wrote two works for his younger brother Narottama—the *Pārijātaharaṇa* and the *Padacandrikā*—reinforces a 16th century date for the *Govindārṇava* as well. Kanole also dates Nṛsiṁha around the cusp of 1500 and puts the *Govindārṇava* in the first half of the 16th century.

Did the famous Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa write the SAS?

The evidence for a Kṛṣṇa of the Śeṣa family living and writing in Vārāṇasī in the second half of the sixteenth century is sure. What is not sure is whether he wrote the SAS. It is not at all certain that the Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa of the SAS is the same as the author of the *Prakriyākaumudīprakāśa*, *Kaṁsavadha,* and other works of *vyākaraṇa* and *kāvya*. For that matter, it is not even sure how many of these other works are by him.

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48 Extract 1566 in Eggeling, *Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office*, Part I. *Vedic Manuscripts*, p. 485.

49 Peterson 58. "The book is quoted in the *Nirṇayasindhu* and *Vrataprakāśa*, but does not seem to have been met with before."

The scholars who have studied the SAS—Kaviraj, Kane, Sharma, Jaiswal, Vajpeyi—assumed that Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa wrote it[50]. In 1912, Ranganathasvami Aryavaraguru regarded the authorship of the SAS as open to question.[51] It is still. Nonetheless, my conclusion is that he is probably did. The weight of evidence as it now stands tips in this direction, if we set aside the Pingree-Kane dates for his father. Although, compared to other authors, we have a relatively large stock of evidence for Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa, the piece is still missing that would conclusively attribute the SAS to him.

Evidence for Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa's Authorship of the SAS

I have turned up seven slender pieces of internal and external evidence for Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa's authorship. Some emerged in the process of translating the SAS. Others I ran across while rummaging through secondary sources, Kane, Kaviraj, etc. One is from a surprising source, a *soi-disant* descendant of Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa. My contacts and sources in Pune supplied me with innumerable insights and suggestions. The conservative nature of Dharmaśāstra, with its reverential citations of *smṛti*, makes it difficult to date a text by its content. The latest sources Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa cites—the *Prāsādadīpikā* and *Kṛsnabhattīya*—are only very roughly dated by Kane to before 1500. Nevertheless, the SAS as a Navya Smṛti *nibandha* could have been written substantially in the form it is in any time from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century.

I. In the introductory verses, the author of the SAS calls himself Kṛṣṇa Śeṣanṛsiṁhaja, and in the closing verse, Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa. He concludes the first section by signing off as Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa and Sri Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa, and the sections on "inquiry into prescriptions and prohibitions for Śūdras" (78) and *āhnika* (189) with Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa.

A major problem for identifying authors and dating texts is that names such as Nṛsiṁha and Kṛṣṇa were extremely common among Brahmins and were passed down from grandfather to grandson for generations in a family such as the Śeṣas. As pointed out before, there are at least three Nṛsiṁhas and two Kṛṣṇas in the early line of Śeṣas, none of whom seems to be the men we are looking for. There are scores of texts in the NCC authored by a Nṛsiṁha and a Kṛṣṇa. Variant names are rife. The author of the *Govindārṇava* is called Narasiṁha (v. 80), an alternative for

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[50] Kaviraj, *Kāśī kī Sārasvata Sādhanā* 15; Kane, HDS, I. 641, 686-87. R.S. Sharma follows Kane. *Śūdras in Ancient India*, 305. Suvira Jaiswal follows Khiste-Kaviraj. *Caste: Origin, Function, and Dimensions of Change* (Delhi: 1998) 75-76, 121nn236-238. And Ananya Vajpeyi follows Khiste-Kaviraj. *Politics of Contempt*, 15, 20, 22-23, 56-57, 67.
[51] R. Aryavaraguru 249.

Nṛsiṁha that Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa uses when referring to his father-guru in the *Prakṛtacandrikā*. He calls him Nṛsiṁha Sūri in the *Prakāśa* (v. 35).

In texts now attributed to Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa, we find Kṛṣṇapaṇḍita, Kṛṣṇakavi, Śeṣakṛṣna, Śri Śeṣakṛṣṇa, Śri Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa, Kṛṣṇabhaṭṭa, Śri Kṛṣṇa Paṇḍita, and Mahākavi Śri Kṛṣna Śeṣa. There is little evidence that all these Kṛṣṇas are one-and-the-same. In most cases, there is none but the name. Is the Kṛṣṇa Śeṣanṛsiṁhaja of the SAS the same person?

As Ludo Rocher has pointed out, there is a tendency in Indological studies to look for one great author to whom many works can be ascribed. The idea of one prolific and versatile Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa is appealing. Voluminous production was certainly common in this era. There is no doubt that many wrong identifications have been made in Sanskrit literature because of the authors' identical names. Reading scholarly publications from Colebrooke's time shows how they all started by assuming that there was only one Kātyāyana, one Patañjali, etc., for everything that went eponymously under these names.[52]

Compounding the problem of identification is the fact that Śeṣa is a generic title and honorific, not a family name. Indeed, Mr. Parshuram Paranjape believes that the actual family name of the Śeṣas was Paranjape or Deva. Many of the received names of Sanskrit paṇḍits consist in part or wholly of such honorifics rather than actual family names. Śeṣa was a title conferred on many paṇḍits, especially those accomplished in *vyākaraṇa-śāstra* by association with Patañjali, the author of the *Mahābhāṣya*, regarded as an incarnation of Ādi Śeṣa, the wisdom energy of Viṣṇu. It is not unique to this family of Śeṣas, although they were some of its most illustrious bearers, due to their eminence in grammatical scholarship.[53] Great paṇḍits and gurus were honored as incarnations of Śeṣa-Ananta-Patañjali-Viṣṇu. In the *Akhaṇḍamañjari*, Śeṣa Nārāyaṇa appears to refer to his father, Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa, as Śeṣa Viṣṇu.[54] In the *Govindārṇava*, Nṛsiṁha, playing on the word "*śeṣa*," says that the progenitor of his family was Viṣṇu.[55] Is this a real ancestor, or the divine Śeṣa Viṣṇu?

Kanole reported a curious oral tradition of the family about how the Śeṣas got their name that has the folk color of Nag worship. A lady of the family gave birth to a snake. When the snake the died, it appeared in a dream saying that

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[52] Personal communication.
[53] R. Aryavaraguru lists many others with the surname "Śeṣa" and no known connection to our Śeṣas apart from the name, p. 252.
[54] Personal communication, Parshuram Paranjape.
[55] R. Aryavaraguru quotes these verses, 248.

Śeṣa should be the family name. The Nāndeḍ Śeṣas thereafter performed a *śrāddha* on a snake hill in commemoration, kept images of Nag, and offered *nagbali*.[56]

II. The first verse of the introduction begins with the word *alikula* (a swarm of bees), a favorite opener for Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa, used in two other texts, the *Prakriyākaumudīprakāśa* and the *Prakṛtacandrikā*. It is no doubt unwise to see much significance in this. Such *maṅgalācaraṇa*s (benedictory prayers) are highly conventional in their imagery and tropes. All three are prayers to Gaṇapati.

alikulakalagītākarṇaottālakarṇā-
ñcalanakalodyottālavācālitāśa: SAS 1

May Lord Gaṇapati burst asunder the flood of our sins,
as he makes a slanted blue lotus dance, a treasure of purity.
The quarters of space resound with the soft beat of his flapping ears,
pricked up as he hears the low hum of a swarm of bees.

The verses from the *Prakṛtacandrikā* and *Prakriyākaumudīprakāśa* not only begin with *alikula*, but are verbatim.

alikulamaṇḍitagaṇḍam pratyūhavyūhatimiramārtaṇḍam
sindūrāruṇaśuṇḍam devam vetaṇḍatuṇḍam avalambhe. PC 1; PKP 1

I devote myself to the elephant-faced god, the sun routing the darkness of obstacles.
His trunk is red with *sindoor* and a swarm of bees adorns his temple.

III. The SAS quotes a stanza (1) on *tarpaṇa* from the *Dharmānubandhiślokacaturdaśī*, another work by Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa, as we are informed in the introduction by his great-great-grandson Rāma.

Rāma wrote a *ṭīkā* on the *Dharmānubandhiślokacaturdaśī*.[57] This is a very short, easy text of 14 stanzas in *śārdūlavikrīḍita* meter on *śrāddha*. Rāma gives the dos-and-don'ts of particular ritual observances with *mīmāṁsika* explication of points of disagreement and references to scores of other authorities. Its editor, G. N. Kaviraj, praises it as one of the best of such texts on ritual, remarking that those described are typically south Indian in character, as we would expect from a southerner like Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa. The first of the fourteen ślokas are verses on when not to offer sesame with *tarpaṇa* and other matters and, remarkably, are also found in the SAS (220).

> Do not perform *tarpaṇa* with sesame seed on a Sunday, Tuesday, or Friday falling in the constellation *Māgha*, on the seventh day of *Anaṅga*, in one's house, at night, on birthdays and felicitous occasions, or at dawn and twilight. Perform it only with water.

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[56] Kanole, 58-9.
[57] The *Dharmānubandhiślokacaturdaśī with a commentary*, ed. Gopī Nātha Kavirāja, Princess of Wales Sarasavti Bhavana Texts 22 (Benares, 1927).

> One should not incur pollution on the occasion of a marriage, vow, tonsure, and good fortune, on the thirteenth, first, sixth, and eleventh lunar days, and on a death, *Mahālaya śrāddha*, pilgrimage to Gayā, an auspicious day, and on arriving at a *tīrtha*.

This appearance in both works might seem to cinch authorship by Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa. The śloka, however, is worryingly appended to the end of the text of the SAS in an out-of-place and interpolated manner. Its occurrence in the SAS may be an editorial artifact since Kaviraj was the editor of both the SAS and the *Dharmānubandhiślokacaturdaśī*. Nonetheless, it is one of the stronger pieces of evidence for his authorship of the SAS. As Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa has just been discussing *śrāddha* and *liṅga pūjā*, these last instructions on *tarpaṇa* at a *tīrtha* may be his way of wrapping up.

IV. A manuscript from Deccan College (ms. no. 55, 1872-1873), copied at Stambhatīrtha (modern Cambay) and now at BORI (ms. 50, 1872-73), one of the two on which Khiste and Kaviraj based their edition, and, I, my translation, can be dated precisely to *saṁvat* 1647, 4 March 1591.[58] A copy, of course, is only a *terminus ante quem* and can tell us nothing about the date of composition.

V. Legend attributes the SAS to Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa. According to G. S. Sardesai, Viśveśvara(Gāgā)bhaṭṭa rebutted ideas ascribed to Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa and may have quoted the SAS in the *Kāyasthadharmadīpa* of Viśveśvara (Gāgā)bhaṭṭa with the phrase “yathoktam śiromaṇau.”[59] I have not been able to verify this.

VI. Kane reports that the *Govindārṇava* and SAS are mentioned on the subject of *bhūtayajña* in the *Ācāraratna* of Lakṣmaṇabhaṭṭa, whom he dates to 1580-1640.[60] Lakṣmaṇa is the younger brother of Kamalākara, the author of the *Śūdrakamalākara*, and the uncle of Viśveśvara(Gāgā)bhaṭṭa. However, as with Gāgā, Lakṣmaṇa does not refer to the author by name.[61] This is the second unconfirmed reference to the SAS reported in another text; and, it does not link the SAS directly with Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa.

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[58] Kane HDS I. 641. The next earliest ms. of the SAS is dated to 1672 and is deposited in the Baroda library according to Sardesai in his *Marathi Riyasat*, the Marathi version of his *New History of the Marathas*.

[59] Reported by Dr. Parshuram Paranjape. For the legend, see G.S. Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, vol. 1, *Shivaji and His Line 1600-1707* (Bombay, 1946), 209-210; and *Historical Genealogies*, State Board for Historical Records and Ancient Monuments, no. 1, Historical Publications Series, ed. P.M. Joshi (Bombay, 1957), 150. P.L. Saswadkar, “Vishweshwarbhat Alias Gagabhat,” in *Chatrapati Shivaji: Coronation Tercentenary Commemoration* Volume. B. K. Apte, ed. Bombay: 1975, 25-33.

[60] Kane, I. 641.

[61] Personal communication, Parshuram Paranjape. One is left to speculate about possible influence.

VII. After paying homage to his patron Pilājī (SAS 2), Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa tells us that he is the son of Śeṣa Nṛsiṁha.[62] Nṛsiṁha is not mentioned again in the text, but the *Govindārṇava* is. Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa refers the reader to it eight times for further information on various topics.[63] He never attributes it to his father or Nṛsiṁha by name, but one naturally assumes that his father is the author.

At the fourth mention (175) Kṛṣna Śeṣa says, for the one and only time in the text that "the rest of the particulars about his can be seen in the "govindārṇave asmatkṛte," i.e., in "our," or more usually "my" *Govindārṇava*. It is hard to know what to make of this remark. Is Kṛṣna Śeṣa claiming to have written it himself? The only *Govindārṇava* in existence unambiguously claims its author is Nṛsiṁha. We may have a case of something not infrequently found in Sanskrit textual production: the son completing or collaborating on the work of his father and guru. As S. K. Belvalkar explains:

> If the statement in *Śūdrācāraśiromaṇi* is of any value, it can only mean (a) that Śesha Kṛishṇa, perhaps at the request of his father, completed the work left incomplete by Narasimha, whatever be the cause that prevented him from completing it himself, (b) Śesha Kṛishṇa may have written a running commentary on the work.[64]

Among Brahmin paṇḍits, scholarship often seems something like a family concern in which texts are inherited as a patrimony and jointly authored. Another example of this is seen in Viśveśvara(Gāgā)bhaṭṭa and his father, Dinakara. His *Śūdradharmoddyota* is part of the *Dinakaroddyota* of his father, as we see in the list of topics it covers: *ācāra*, *āśauca*, *kāla*, *dāna*, *pūrta*, *pratiṣṭha*, *prāyaścitta*, *vyavahāra*, *varṣakṛtya*, *vrata*, *śūdra*, *śrāddha*, and *saṁskāra*.[65] And his *Kāyasthadharmadīpa* is in its *saṁskārakhaṇḍa*. [66] In fact, Kane says that the *Dinakaroddyota* was finished by the son.[67] Something similar seems to have been the case for Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa. He either helped his father compose the *Govindārṇava* or later added to it and so claimed it as his without gainsaying his father's authorship.

As far as solid evidence goes for the SAS, this is what we have. What can we infer from these meager facts? The SAS was written before 1591; how far before, we cannot say. The 1591 ms. copy could even be an original. While the *Kāyasthadharmadīpa* of Gāgābhaṭṭa and the *Ācāraratna* of Lakṣmaṇa may mention the SAS, no definitive attri-

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[62] It is interesting to note in passing that Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa cannot resist a pun on the family name, Śeṣa: King Pilājī has commissioned him to write a manual for Śūdras after hearing all the dharmas, *dharmān aśeṣān*, from the mouths of the learned. Nṛsiṁha also makes great play with the word in the introduction to the *Govindārṇava.* It must be said, however, that such *śeṣa* witticisms were a common conceit with Sanskrit paṇḍits. As noted elsewhere, puns and allusions to incarnations of Patañjali and Viṣṇu have created much confusion in tracing the genealogy of the Śeṣas.
[63] SAS 62, 105, 152, 175, 180, 189, 209, and 220.
[64] Quoted in R. Aryavaraguru, "On the Śeṣas" 288.
[65] Kane HDS I. 564.
[66] Vajpeyi 259-60.
[67] Kane 702, 640.

bution of the SAS to Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa is made by any author. On the other hand, the *Kaṁsavadha* (vv. 1.21, 23) and *Prakriyākaumudiprakāśa* (Intro., vv. 26, 34) are ascribed to the same author on the basis of shared verses and names. The ślokas and names found in both the SAS and the *Dharmānubandhiślokacaturdaśī* are as equally slight or firm an attestation of Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa's authorship of the SAS.[68]

If the younger brother of Kamalākara (*fl*. 1610-1640), Lakṣmaṇa, was referring to the SAS, it is conceivable that Kamalākara composed the *Śūdrakamalākara* with those works in mind, perhaps even as a direct stimulus. The tale of his nephew Gāgābhaṭṭa's rebuttal of Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa becomes more plausible. Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa appears like a recent and living figure of authority and influence. The Śeṣas and Bhaṭṭas were two of the leading families of Mahārāṣṭrian paṇḍits in Vārāṇasī at this time.[69] If there is a kernel of truth in this legend, it may give us a glimpse into a scholarly rivalry between them with political implications.

In conclusion, what can we say then about the date and author of the SAS? Not much either new or with precision. The famous Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa most probably wrote the SAS, maybe a work of his mature or senior years. His father, Nṛsiṁha, was the author of the *Govindārṇava* and his grandfather was a Rāmacandra who is not the author of the *Prakriyākaumudī*. Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa lived in the second half of the 16th century through the reign of Akbar the Great. Kane and Vajpeyi's date of 1520-1590 is more or less right, give or take a decade. Given the inadequacy of the biographical evidence, it seems best to stick to a general time frame: Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa's grandfather in the 15th century, his father Nṛsiṁha, 15th to 16th century, and Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa living through most of the 16th century, roughly 1510-1590.

Pilājī Rao, Patron of the SAS

In the introductory and closing verses of the SAS, Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa says that he composed his manual for Śūdras at the behest of Pilājī, son of Keśava. All we know about Śrī Pilājī Nṛpāla is what Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa tells us.

> King Pilājī is pot-born Agastya, drinking up the ocean
> of hostile kings' power. By his gifts of food, cloth, gold,
> places of rest, and horses daily bestowed,
> from little boy to old man, Prayāga, king of *tīrthas*,
> displays among the people its power of granting wishes. SAS 1

He was a *dākṣiṇātya* sovereign, who displayed his prowess in the south like Agastya, and a generous patron of pilgrimage at Prayāga. He was a military leader engaged in some military actions against neighboring kings in the

[68] See III above.
[69] See Mahāmahopadhyāya Haraprasād Shastri, "Dakshini Pandits at Benares," *Indian Antiquary* 41 (January, 1912): 7-13.

south and was a munificent benefactor of religion. The Hindu kings of south India were often the most ardent patrons of the holy places of pilgrimage in the north.

Who is this Pilājī? In the time of Śivājī and the Peshwas, a number of Pilājīs come into view. Pilājī Nilakanth, Pilājī Gole, and Pilājī Sanas were commanders under Śivājī, and Pilājī Shirke was his son-in-law.[70] The chieftain Pilājī Mohite fought against Śivājī with the Sultan of Bījāpūr.[71] Pilājī Gaekwad (d. 1732), a Maratha leader, allied to the Peshwas, became the Maharaja of Baroda, and Pilājī Jadhav was a Peshwa *sardar*.[72] All these Pilājīs are too late to be ours.

Pilājī, or Pirājī, appears to be a *dākṣiṇātya* name, i.e., a Deccani or Maratha name, more frequently found later on among Maharashtrians. There is a Śrī Pilājī Gurav in the 20th century, a devotee of Sai Baba in Shirdi. The name "Pila" reminds one of the "Pillai" (alternatively spelled Pilli, Pillay, and Pulle) common among non-Brahmin forward castes in Tamil Nadu, Kerala, and Andhra Pradesh, but has no pertinence to the Ghorpades in Karnataka, as far as I can see.

Although no eminent Pilājī in the sixteenth century can be found to fit the bill in his view, Khiste mentions in passing Pilājī Ghorpade, scion of the Mudholkar line of the Ghorpade dynasty, cousins of the Bhonsle lineage of Śivājī.[73] This Pilājī was the Rajah of Mudhol after his father, Cholaraj (d. 1579). Khiste gives Pilājī a date of 1578-1598 and Sardesai 1562-1596.[74] There are several later Pilājīs/Pirājīs in the Ghorpade family line.[75]

Khiste gives him short shrift, too hastily ruling him out because his father's name was not the Keśavadāsa in the SAS. In looking for an eminent or famous patron, Khiste did not observe that all of Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa's patrons appear to be petty princes and local rajahs. This Pilājī may or may not be the patron of the SAS, but he is quite similar to his other patrons, such as Narottama, king of Tāṇḍava, for whom he composed the *Parijātaharaṇa*, and *Padacandrikā*,

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[70] G.V. Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, vol. 1, 138, 273. "Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj": www.freewebs.com/rajeshivaji/kingfdomofshivaji.htm.
[71] *The Mughal Period*, ed. Lt. Col. Sir Wolseley Haig and Sir Richard Burn, *The Cambridge History of India* IV (Cambridge, 1937), 350, 365, 398, 401-2; James Cuningham Grant Duff, *A History of the Mahrattas*, 2 vols. (Oxford University Press, 1921) I. 353, 359, 363-6 374, 376-8.
[72] Stewart Gordon, *The Marathas 1600-1800*, *New Cambridge History of India* II. 4 (Cambridge University Press, 1993), 117, 121-122.
[73] Introduction (*upodghāta*) to the SAS, pt. 2, 3.
[74] Sardesai, *Historical Genealogies*, 36-7; Khiste, Introduction pt. 3. Pilājī is clearly referred to as Raja succeeding his father in 1579 on the website: http://www.royalark.net. On the website, which appears to have been set up by the family, his brother is given as the successor: http://rajaofmudhol.com/index.htm. The old house of the Ghorpades were the chiefs of Mudhol up to the 20th century.
[75] Sardesai's dates for three Pirājīs are 1690-1737, d. 1729, and c. 1795. Pilājī is sometimes spelt Pirājī in the Ghorpade family line.

or Vīravara (Birbal?) of Patrapuñja, for whom he wrote the *Prakriyākaumudīprakāśa*, and Govārdhana, the son of Ṭoḍaramalla, patron of the *Kaṁsavadha*. Even that the father's name was not Śrī Keśavadāsa, but Cholaraj Ghorpade is not a serious obstacle. Śrī Keśavadāsa looks like another magnificent royal or pious title with which he is endowed, like *paramavaiṣṇava*, "great devotee of Viṣṇu,"

> Śrī Pilājī, great devotee of Viṣṇu, jewel of his family and *varṇa*,
> sprung from the lotus feet of Śrī Hari and the Yādavas. SAS 221

At any rate, Khiste has stumbled across a personage who is of the sort we are looking for, if not actually the one, without fully appreciating his find.

Mudhol is in Bagalkot District in northern Karnataka and is famed for a breed of hound.[76] The Principality of Mudhol became a 9-gun-salute princely state during the Raj. The Ghorpades preferred to see themselves as Maratha military commanders.[77] They were, but well after the Deccan Sultanates and the Mughals. In the 16th and 17th centuries, the Ghorpades were, in fact, loyal feudatories of the kings of Bījāpūr, first the Bahmanīs, then the 'Ādil Shāhis, for whom they soldiered and served as finance ministers. Later on, they switched their allegiance to the Mughals, and although a branch of the Bhonsle family, long kept their independence from Śivājī and the Peshwas.

This is a murky period of unremitting war and treacherous, shifting alliances between Muslim and Hindu states. The Shah of Bījāpūr and the kings of Vijayanagara fought back and forth over Mudhol. Pilājī's father, Cholaraj, was a *mansab* who fought with the Sultanate forces at the battle of Talikot (1565), which brought down Vijayanagara, and in subsequent engagements at Bankapur and Shira. He shared in the spoils of war: receiving troops, villages, and *jagir*s in Vijayanagara territory. He had three sons, among whom was Śrīmant Pilājī Raje Ghorpade Bahadur, Chief of Mudhol. In 1593-1595, Pilājī served with his brothers in the Carnatic (1593-1595) fighting with the 'Ādil Shāhis against the *Nayak*s.

How do these facts fit the Pilājī in the SAS? These Ghorpades were indeed martial, many dying on the battlefield, perhaps even Pilājī himself.

> lighting up the face of the south with a blaze of unequalled valor,
> defeating his enemies over the land, he is victorious. SAS 221

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[76] "Mudhol" *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 11th ed., 1911.
[77] B.B. Raje Ghorpaḍe, *Raje Ghorpaḍe Gharāṇyācā Itihasa*, Mumbai: Mahārāṣṭra Rājya Sāhitya Āṇi Saṁskṛtī Maṅdala, 1989; Duff, *History of the Mahrattas*, I. 295, passim; "The Ghorpade Dynasty: A Brief History," www.royalark.net/India/mudhol2.htm.

Such a warrior king under the suzerainty of Muslims might have a special motivation in sponsoring Hindu pilgrimage to the *tīrtha*s of the north and in patronizing their sacred establishments, advertising a name for devotion and charity.

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> By making many *tīrthas* free of taxes with his donations,
> people congregating from far distances easily clasp the hands of the immortal goddesses.
> Gaining first dharma, the bridge granting the fruit of the three ends of life,
> appearing like Prayāga, the triple-braided confluence,
> he took in hand the attainment of the visible and invisible ends of man.
> Steadfast in respecting and honoring the Dharma, support of good government and morality,
> constant and faithful in the protection of his subjects, generous and pure of heart,
> devoted to the lotus feet of Śrī Govinda, noble and courageous.
> above all, as guardian of the law, he adorns the dharma
> with excellent and imperishable wisdom. SAS 2

Like the rulers of Vijayanagara, whom he was fighting in alliance with Muslims, he might have felt a heightened concern in a time of strife to propagate Dharma. As a sideline to the upstart Bhonsles in Pune, the Ghorpades may have had similar problems of caste status and legitimacy to deal with. Pilājī, therefore, may have seen a point in promoting the social stability of caste by showing interest in the lives of good Śūdras, the artisans and peasants who were the sources of manpower and revenue in the villages he was acquiring as a *jagirdar*. Such interests might have inspired the commissioning of a work on *śūdradharma* from a fellow Deccani and famous scholar, expert, and intellectual in Kāśī, as Śivājī would later enlist the Bhaṭṭas for public relations.

Is this Pilājī the patron of the SAS? Possibly. The timing works well. If we accept a date of 1510-1590 for Kṛṣna Śeṣa and 1562-1596 for Pilājī Ghorpade, they were contemporaneous during the latter part of Kṛṣna Śeṣa's life. This would place the SAS in the age of Akbar when Kṛṣna Śeṣa was a renowned figure on the intellectual scene and *rāja*s such as Pilājī were patronizing famous scholars of Kāśī and subsidizing *pūrta*s and pilgrimage to holy places.

And there is the Bījāpūr connection. As we have seen, if we accept Kṛṣna Śeṣa's authorship of the *Murārivijaya*, Nṛsiṁha was honored by the paṇḍits of the Bījāpūr court as *bhaṭṭabhaṭṭāraka*.[78] In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Bījāpūr became a great and cosmopolitan center of trade, culture, and learning rivaling Delhi and Agra. It was known as the "Banaras of the south." The 'Ādil Shāhi Sultans were themselves men of letters and liberal, tolerant patrons of Islamic and Hindu artists, musicians, poets, scholars, and teachers.[79] Moreover, according to two documents (*ruq'as*) issued by a Council of Ministers, a Śeṣa Vāmana, son of Ananta (Shesh Wāman bin Anant in

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[78] Aryavaraguru (1912): 247.
[79] D.C. Verma, *Social, Economic and Cultural History of Bijapur* (Delhi: Idarah-I Adabiyat-I Delhi, 1990).

the Persian), was appointed Royal Librarian to Ālī ʻĀdil Shāh (1558-1580).[80] Vāmana was a member of the Nāndeḍ Śeṣas.

So it appears then that both the Ghorpades and the Śeṣas had links with Bījāpūr. As Rosalind O'Hanlon observes, there is a strong plausibility that someone like Pilājī from a successful *jagirdar* family in the service of the Bījāpūr court might have wanted to commission a work of Dharmaśāstra from a paṇḍit family so esteemed at that court.[81] The plausibility is reinforced by the fact that another family member appears to have been court librarian. Of course, this may all be nothing but a speculative house of cards, if any of the pieces are wrong.

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[80] P.M. Joshi, "'Ālī ʻĀdil Shāh I of Bījāpūr (1558-1580) and his Royal Librarian: Two *Ruq'as*," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay*, *New Series* 31-32 (1956-57): 97-107. Kanole found these documents in Nāṇḍeḍ among the family records connecting Shesh Wāman with the Nāṇḍeḍ Śeṣas. It is uncertain what relationship Wāman may have with Nṛsiṁha or Kṛṣṇa, or the three of them with the Nāṇḍeḍ Śeṣas, but all the pieces of circumstantial evidence fit together in identifying them as in the same extended family group and placing them here. Nāṇḍeḍ is in the Marathwada district of southeast Maharashtra on the Godāvarī River. Mudhol is in northern Karnataka. So there is also geographical propinquity, at the very least, between Kṛṣṇa and Pilājī. See V.A. Kanole in *Mahamahopadhyaya D.V. Potdar Sixty-first Birthday Commemoration Volume*: *studies in historical and indological research presented to M.M. Datto Vaman Potdar* (Poona: D.K. Sathe, 1950): 56-73.

[81] Rosalind O'Hanlon, e-mail to the author, Jan. 7, 2010.

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Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa

This biographical sketch of Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa and his times assumes that he is the author of the SAS. As argued before, this may not be so, but is slightly more probable than not. Even if he is not the author, Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa is an intrinsically interesting figure in his own right, well worth knowing better. He is one of those brilliant figures in the Indian summer of late Sanskrit. He is typical of the independent poet-paṇḍit of the age, a versatile polymath, versed in all the arts and sciences of *śāstra*. Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa authored poetic works (*kāvya*s, *nāṭaka*s*, campūs*) and texts on neo-Pāṇinian *vyākaraṇa*, including one on Jain Prākrit and another on the philosophy of *sphoṭa.* I assume that the thirteen works attributed to him in the NCC are by one and the same Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa, another problematic assumption.

Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa's Kāśī

The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in Vārānasī, the City of Light, have long been extolled as a golden age of Sanskrit learning and literature by Indian scholars. Modern scholars too now speak of efflorescence, brilliance, and cosmopolitanism. Many of the greatest names in Sanskrit in these years lived and worked in Kāśī, the meeting place of the different cultures of India. Scholars and writers came there from all around the subcontinent. The prestige of the city was at its peak. More than a university town, it was the intellectual and cultural summit of India and Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa was one of its most celebrated figures.[1]

Although there is a certain amount of embellishment in this picture, it is true in it main outlines. Undoubtedly, the convergence of scholars from all around the subcontinent, and especially from Mahārāṣṭra, made 17th century Kāśī an intellectually stimulating milieu for the ambitious and talented. As Pollock remarks:

> We have no usable social history of Varanasi intellectuals before the period under consideration here [i.e., the 17th century]. But it is hard not to believe that the city's incorporation into the Mughal Empire at the end of the 16th century, and the growth of pilgrimage, especially on the part of Maharashtrians, that may have been facilitated by the establishment of the empire, did not have something to do with the efflorescence of the intellectual class and its cosmopolitan mixture. (21-22)[2]

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[1] Starting points for the intellectual history of Vārāṇasī in this period are Mahāmahopadhyāya Haraprasād Shastri, "Dakshini Pandits at Benares," *Indian Antiquary* 41 (January, 1912): 7-13; November, Ranganathasvami Aryavaraguru of Vizagapatam, "On the Śeṣas," *Indian Antiquary* 41 (1912): 245-53, reprinted Delhi: Swati Publications (1985); and in Hindi, Gopīnāth Kavirāja, *Kāśī kī Sārasvata Sādhanā* (Patna: Vihāra Rāṣṭrabhāṣā Pariṣad, 1965); and Baladeva Upādhyāya, *Kāśī kī Pāṇḍitya Paramparā* (Vārāṇasī, 1983).

[2] Sheldon Pollock, "The Death of Sanskrit," *Comparative Studies in History and Society* 43, no. 2 (April 2001): 392-426.

With the advent of the Mughals, we see a great flourishing of learning, which earned for Vārāṇasī François Bernier's famous tribute, "the Athens of India." Bernier, a doctor and student of Pierre Gassendi, traveled across India during the reign of Aurangzeb. He visited Vārāṇasī and described it in a letter:

> It is the Athens of India, whither resort the Brahmens and other devotees; who are the only persons who apply their minds to study. The town contains no colleges or regular classes, as in our universities, but resembles the schools of the ancients; the masters being dispersed over different parts of the town in private houses, and principally in the gardens of the suburbs, which the rich merchants permit them to occupy. Some of these masters have four disciples, others six or seven, and the most eminent may have twelve or fifteen; but this is the largest number. It is usual for the pupils to remain ten or twelve years under their respective preceptors, during which time the work of instruction proceeds slowly;[3]

Bernier saw a placid town of *gurukuls*, to his mind not unlike ancient Greek academies and lyceums. His picture of the quiet flow of intellectual and religious life in the town would most likely have been much the same in Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa's day, three quarters of a century prior, if not more so, before Aurangzeb's wars. The traditions of learning went on despite the political ups-and-downs as a sacred font of permanent values.

The English merchant explorer Ralph Fitch, passed through Benares, the "principal mart of Bengal goods," *circa* 1585 in his "wonderfull travailes" around eastern India. He saw an exotic India of pagan idol worship and the strange ritual practices at the ghaṭs, many of which are dealt with in detail in the SAS. He visited closer to the time of Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa's activity there than Bernier, but saw nothing of the inner intellectual life of the city. Haklyut published his bemused observations of the "greatest idolators that ever I sawe."[4]

In which period the SAS was written is a critical question for interpreting it. Simply stated, does it reflect the tolerant climate that comes in with Akbar or the more conservative retrenchments of the tougher days of Turko-Afghan domination and the Sultanates? In a sense though, it is not really an either/or. Both conservative and liberalizing tendencies are evident in the SAS. Comprehensive digests like the SAS were pro-ducts of the era in which orthodox Hindus consolidated their position under Islamic rule by reinforcing caste rules and tightening up *Dharma*. In tandem, a more inclusive approach worked to reconcile lower castes to Brahmanism. Liberalizing relaxation is the trend in the 16-17th centuries with the civilities of Mughal rule, at least until the renewed zeal of Aurangzeb to suppress idolatry, but starts from this earlier conservatism of beleaguered Hinduism.

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[3] François Bernier, *Travels in the Mogul Empire A.D. 1656-1668*, trans. by A. Constable, 2nd ed. revised by V.A. Smith (London: Oxford University Press, 1914), 334.
[4] *Early Travels in India 1583-1619*, ed. William Foster, 20-23.

This fluctuation of fortunes was a recurring pattern, as can be seen in the timeline on the next page. The centuries of Muslim domination (1206-1528) were often hard times.[5] Vārāṇasī saw bursts of Muslim iconoclasm when temples and sacred places were demolished, taxes imposed, and Dharma under threat, alternating with periods of religious and intellectual restoration. Brahmanical conservation was one response; another was Bhakti. During all the difficulties of war and oppression Vārāṇasī became a tenacious stronghold of orthodoxy where traditions of learning and religious life went on. Young Brahmins came here to study at the feet of great masters in the schools of Nyāya logic, Advaita, and linguistics. Manuals and digests on every subject poured out of the copyists. Simultaneously, Kāśī was a center of the vibrant devotional renaissance of Bhakti.

If we accept that Dharmaśāstra embodies an ongoing response to changes in social custom, then a *smṛti* like the SAS would reflect both of these trends: the conservative consolidation of Brahmanism and the easing of Śūdra disqualifications to capture and channel the popular fervor of Bhakti devotionalism. Not coincidentally, these darker centuries of conquest and foreign rule (1200-1500 CE) are the time when *śūdradharma* becomes a particular concern and we see the "spate of books" dealing with the caste duties and ritual rights of Śūdras.[6] The need to fortify the caste structure explains why the duties of Śūdras became "a favorite topic of the latter days of the *śāstra*."[7]

Timeline of Major Historical Events in Vārāṇasī (12th-17th centuries C.E.)

12th century. Rule of the Gāhaḍavālas, a "golden age" before Muslim conquest, commemorated in the *Kāśī Khaṇḍa Māhātmya*.
Rāmānujācārya visits the city.

1194. Qutbuddin Aibak and Muhammad Ghūrī sack the city and demolish Viśvanātha, the Golden Temple.

1206. Establishment of the Delhi Sultanate.

1294. Jñāneśvara visits the city.

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[5]For the history of this period see Moti Chandra, *Kāśhī kā Itihās* (Bombay: Hindi Granth-Ratnākar Private Ltd., 1962) pt. 2, chapters 1-3; *The Cambridge History of India*, vol. 3, *Turks and Afghans*, ed. Wolseley Haig (Cambridge, 1928); K. Chandramouli, *Kashi: The City Luminous* (Delhi: Rupa & Co., 1995); Anand Sadashiv Altekar, *History of Benares from earliest times down to 1937* (Vārāṇasī: Publishing House, 1937); and the readable survey by Diane Eck, *Banaras, City of Light* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1982).
[6] *Śūdras in Ancient India*, 305.
[7] Derrett, *Dharmaśāstra and Juridical Literature*, 57.

1296-1316 Ala-ud-din Khilji rules Delhi.

13-14th century. Turko-Afghan rule.

14th century. Sharqī kings of Jaunpur rule the city.

1398-1518. Kabīr lives here his entire life.

14-15th century. Rāmānand, Vaiṣṇava reformer, lives near Pañcagaṅga ghaṭ.

15th century. Ravidās is born here (1376) and becomes a disciple of Rāmānand.

1469-1539. Guru Nānak visits the city and debates the paṇḍits.

1486-1517. Lodī rule in Delhi.

1494. Sikandar Lodī.

1478-1530. Vallabhācārya settles in the city in his later years and dies there.

1486-1534. Chaitanya lives here for many years.

1526. Babar, victorious at Panipat, founds the Mughal Empire.

1527. Humāyūn wins Vārāṇasī.

1525-1539. Kāśī frequently changes hands.

1532-1623. Tulsīdās is born. He composes the *Rāmacaritamānas* at Tulsi Ghāṭ; and dies in the 1623 plague.

1556-1603. Reign of Akbar.

1563. Akbar revokes the pilgrimage tax.

1564. *Jizya* abolished.

1567. Akbar takes Vārāṇasī. Intellectual life flourishes; temples, wells and ghaṭs rebuilt by Hindu rājas.

1572-1580. Great reforms of the empire.

1575. Beginning of religious dialogues at the court of Akbar; Ṭoḍaramalla rebuilds Viśvanātha temple.

1589. Death of Ṭoḍaramalla.

1605. Death of Akbar.

1655-1656. Dārā Shukoh translates the Upaniṣads into Persian with the aid of the paṇḍits of Kāśī.

1666. Renewed policies of temple demolition and taxation by Aurangzeb.

1600-1750. Second "golden age" of Kāśī. Maratha cultural and political ascendancy.

In the 15th and 16th centuries, many Brahmins, including the Śeṣas, emigrated from the Deccan to Vārāṇasī. Why was this happening? Vajpeyi speculates about the reasons in the case of the Bhaṭṭas,[8] who relocated from Paiṭhan to Vārāṇasī after 1525. Disorders in the Deccan during the breakup of the Bahmanī Sultanate and the wars of the successor Sultanates with Vijayanagara and the Mughals may have driven many Brahmins north. Famine too may have played a part.[9] Patronage for Brahmins in Hindu kingdoms in the south may have dried up and they had either to adapt to service in Muslim administrations or find a more congenial milieu. This they did in Kāśī with its opportunities for success and fame in the patronage of "small-time" rajas. The situation may have been similar for the Śeṣas escaping the loss of career opportunities and social dislocation in the Deccan, when they moved to Vārāṇasī around 1500 and found patronage with the Śrīvāstakas of Taṇḍava.

Rosalind O'Hanlon, however, believes that the establishment of the post-1490 Sultanates, the break up Vijayanagara, and the consolidation of the Mughal state led to a proliferation of new courtly centers in central and southern India with patronage to offer.[10] Kṛṣna Śeṣa's patronage by Pilājī of Mudhol in Karnataka would seem to be a good example. This was certainly the case later in the century when the Sultans of Bījāpūr and the Mughals became munificent patrons of Hindu arts and learning. By the days of Akbar the Great, attraction had replaced escape as the motivation with the great efflorescence of learning and culture in Kāśī as a central node in the cultural networks of north and south. Hindu princes like Ṭoḍaramalla and Birbal patronized the famous paṇḍits of the city like Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa, and sponsored the building of temples and ghāṭs and subsidized pilgrimage, as Pilājī does at Prayāga.

The *dākṣiṇātya* Brahmins who moved to Kāśī presided over the scholarship and jurisprudence of the city for the next two centuries, a period a great brilliance. Indeed, the story of the southern paṇḍits in Kāśī *is* the history of Sanskrit literature in these years. They were honored residents of Kāśī up to 1912. Seven families were prominent: the Śeṣa, Bhaṭṭa, Dharmādhikārī, Bhāradvāja, Pāyaguṇḍe, Caturdhara or Chowdhuri, and Puntamkar.[11] The rise of the Marathas (≈1664-1761 CE) amplified Mahārāṣṭrian domination of the shastric life of Kāśī.

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[8] Vajpeyi 30-42.
[9] A suggestion of Dr. Sumitra Kulkarni, a Maratha historian at the University of Pune, January 2009.
[10] Rosalind O'Hanlon, "Letters Home: Banaras pandits and the Maratha regions in early modern India," *Modern Asian Studies* (Cambridge University Press, 2009), 1-40. See p. 2. This paper is currently only available online at *Cambridge Journals Online*, doi: 10.1017/S0026749X09990229.
[11] M. H. Shastri, "Dakshini Pandits at Benares," 13.

Famous Contemporaries

If we accept a date of 1520-1590 for Kṛṣna Śeṣa, this would make him a contemporary or near contemporary of a great many celebrated people in the long 16th century, including in the field of Dharmaśāstra: Raghunandana, Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa, and Appaya Dīkṣita. The latter years of his life overlap with the early careers of Kamalākara Bhaṭṭa (*Nirṇayasindhu* 1612), Bhaṭṭojī Dīkṣita, (1575-1645), and Nanda Paṇḍita. A glance at the list below shows what a period of political, religious, and intellectual ferment it was. Many of the great figures of Bhakti were alive just before or during Kṛṣna Śeṣa's time. He was living in the great wake of Bhakti. I list only the most outstanding personalities. As Gopi Nath Kaviraj's history of scholarship in Benares shows, there were a great many lesser-well known and obscure (to us) people producing hundreds of works in Dharmaśāstra, Nyāya, Vedānta, Mīmāṁsā, Vyākaraṇa, and Jyotiṣa at this time.

Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa. *fl.* 1540-1570	Jīva Gosvāmi 1517-1608
Kamalākara Bhaṭṭa *fl.* 1610-1640	Rūpa Gosvāmi fl. 1489-1564
Gāgā Bhaṭṭa 1640-1700, 1620-1685	Nanda Paṇḍita 1595-1630
Raghunandana 1490-1570	Tulsīdās 1532-1623
Appaya Dīkṣita 1520-1593	Guru Nanak 1469-1539
Bhaṭṭojī Dīkṣita c. 1570-1635	Tūkarām 1577-1680
Annaṁbhaṭṭa c. *fl.* 1560- 1600	Mīrābāī 1498-1547
Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja 1590-1665	Dādū 1544-1603
Nāgeśa Bhaṭṭojī 1660-1750	Sūrdās 1479-1684
Madhusūdana Sarasvati c. 1500-1570	Ekanāth 1528-1600
Prakāśānanda 1550-1600	Kabīr 1398-1518
Raghunātha Śiromaṇi *fl.* 1475-1550	Humāyūn 1508-1556
Vijñānabhīkṣu 1550-1600	Akbar 1542-1605
Vallabha 1479-1531	Ṭoḍaramalla d. 1589
Chaitanya 1486-1533	Ralph Fitch in Benares 1585-1586
Raghupati Upādhyāya *fl.* 1550-1583	

Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa and Akbar

In the *Ain-i-Akbari* (II. 30), Abu-l Fazl lists the eminent men of learning of his day.[12] Most are Muslim scholars and divines, but among the 140 names are 32 Hindus, including a Kishn Pandit, viz., Kṛṣṇa Paṇḍita in Persian transliteration.[13] We can confidently assume that Kishn Pandit is our man: Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa was probably the most famous bearer of the name Kṛṣṇa Paṇḍita at this time.

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[12] Abu-l Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, translated by H. Blochmann, 2nd ed. (Calcutta: 1927), 606-617.
[13] *Ain-i-Akbari*, p. 611.

Abu-l Fazl includes a number of men with whom Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa shared the patronage of the court of Ṭoḍa-ramalla or sat with in Brahmin councils: Nārāyn, viz., Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa, a fellow Banarasi paṇḍit, Madhsudan, viz., Madhusūdana Sarasvatī, the greatest Vedantist of the day, who cut a figure in the court of Akbar in the 1580's, and Bidyāniwās, viz., Vidyānivāsa, a co-signer with Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa of the 1583 *vyavasthāpattra* at Benares.[14] Vidyānivāsa was a leading Naiyāyika of Bengal and debated Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa before Ṭoḍar-amalla. There is no evidence that Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa was close to the *darbar* of Akbar, as was Madhusūdana Sarasvatī. As an illustrious man of letters, its glory no doubt shone on him through the patronage of the house of Ṭoḍaramalla, for whose son, Govardhana, he wrote the *Kaṁsavadha*.[15]

Abu-l Fazl divided his scholarly eminences into five classes, putting Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa in the fourth with "those who look upon testimony as something filled with the dust of suspicion and handle nothing without proof," namely, experts in Nyāya, Mīmāṁsā and Vyākaraṇa.[16] Although dialecticians are the most numerous class, Vedantists are given the highest honor with Muslim theologians as the masters of sacred knowledge who "perceive the mysteries of the external and the internal."

Abu-l Fazl, *wazir* of Akbar and one of the nine jewels of his court (*navratna*s), wrote the *Ain-i-Akbari*, the third volume of the *Akbarnama*, circa 1597. It is a kind of government report and gazette on the administrative, fiscal, economic, and cultural state of affairs. It is clearly in line with Akbar's policies of religious toleration, ecumenicalism, and supremacy. As he declares:

> I will speak of the sages of the period and classify them according to their knowledge, casting aside all differences of creed. His Majesty, who is himself the leader of the material and the ideal worlds, and the sovereign over the external and the internal, honors five classes of sages.[17]

As court historian, Abu-l Fazl promulgated the official ideology of the reign.

The question arises, did the SAS reflect Akbar's policy of toleration? The short answer is that it does not in any immediate way, even if was composed at this time. On the other hand, the contents of Dharmaśāstra do now begin to track political needs in a more direct or discernible way than heretofore, as we see in the case of Śivājī and Gāgābhaṭṭa. At most, one can say that the SAS was not out of tune with the tolerant and inclusive spirit of the zeit-

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[14] See page for a discussion of this legal document..
[15] Dineschandra Bhattacharyya, "Sanskrit Scholars of Akbar's Time," *Indian Historical Quarterly* XIII, No. 1 (March, 1937), 31-36.
[16] *Ain-i-Akbari*, p. 606.
[17] *Ain-i-Akbari*, p. 606.

geist. Any spirit of conciliation detectable in the SAS, however, was a response internal to Dharmaśāstra to the cultural climate of Bhaktism rather than directly to Mughal state policy. In a sense, this is true for Akbar's policies as well.[18] Whatever raisons d'état were prompting him (freeing himself from Sunni clerics and checkmating rebellious Muslim nobles), his religious policies of bridge-building and pluralism were themselves riding the high tide of religious reformation in both Muslim and Hindu communities.[19]

Akbar hosted religious dialogues among Shias, Hindus, Jains, Zoroastrians, and even Jesuits in his Hall of Worship (Persian: Ibādat Khāna). He began holding these interfaith dialogues in 1575 at Fatepur Sikri under the influence of the Sufi idea that the same god could be found through different religion traditions with no monopoly on truth: a Muslim version of Bhakti. He called his campaign of ecumenical harmony "Perfect Reconciliation." His "Divine Faith" (Dīn-i-llāhī, 1581) with its eclecticism and claim of infallibility may not have been much more than a government promotion of ethical conduct and social peace among all his subjects, not unlike what Aśoka had done centuries before, but it was an expression of the trend to syncretism in religion and the cultural assimilation of Muslims and Hindus.

> In both Hinduism and Islam many mystics, scholars, intellectuals, and ordinary folk were actively seeking some form of synthesis. Kabir and other poet-saints in the popular devotional *bhakti* tradition of Hinduism offered a middle ground where Ram/Rahim could be worshipped freely in a rejection of the formalism of both religions. Others such as Daud Dayal (1544-1603) shared devotional beliefs and practices with sympathetic Sufis. An avowedly synthetic movement led by Guru Nanak (1469-1539) began in Punjab. In folk culture, there was substantial sharing of customs, ceremonies, and beliefs between ordinary Muslims and Hindus. Such practices as the worship of the smallpox goddess Sitala were often practiced as ardently by Muslims as Hindus in the countryside.[20]

Bhakti derived much of its fervor from the aspirations of ordinary Muslims and Hindus, i.e., Śūdras and other low castes, and many of its saints were such ordinary folk.

The emphasis in the SAS on good conduct (*acāra*) and the universal moral obligations (*sāmānya-dharma*) of non-violence, truthfulness, honesty, purity, and charity incumbent on all castes irrespective of *varṇa* and *āśrama* dove-

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[18] John F. Richards, *The Mughal Empire, The New Cambridge History of India* I.5 Cambridge University Press, 1993, 34-40. For Akbar's religious policies see also K. A. Nizami, *Akbar and Religion* (Delhi, 1989); Sri Ram Sharma, "Akbar's Religious Policy," *Indian Historical Quarterly* XIII, No. 2 (June, 1937), 302-322; XIII, No. 3 (Sept. 1937), 448-475 and *Religious Policy of the Mughal Empire* (New York: Asia Publishing House, 1972), passim; A. L. Srivastava, *Akbar the Great*, vol. II, *Evolution of Administration 1556-1605 A.D.* (Agra: Shiva Lal Agarwala & Co., 1967), 304-318; and S. A. A. Rizvi, *Religious and Intellectual History of the Muslims in Akbar's Reign* (New Delhi, 1975).
[19] For religious change, Sufism, and cultural assimilation among Indian Muslims, see A. A. Rizvi, *Muslim Revivalist Movements in Northern India in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Agra, 1965).
[20] Richards, *The Mughal Empire*, 34; *A History of Modern India 1480-1950*, ed. Claude Markovitz, trans. by Nisha George and Maggy Hendry (London, Anthem Press, 2000), 88-92.

tails with the temper of the times rather than the policies.[21] The Gupta age had experienced a similar flourishing of toleration that was registered in the reforms in the position of Śūdras that furnish the *smārta* authorization for the expansion of religious rights we see in the *nibandha*s.[22]

In 1563, Akbar lifted the pilgrimage tax on bathing at *tīrthas* and, in 1579, abolished the *jizya* tax on non-Muslim *dhimmi*s.[23] These were no doubt popular measures, but may have been more symbolic than fiscally significant. It is unsure to what extent they were collected. A significant revenue stream in the medieval period for both Hindu and Muslim rulers, pilgrimage tolls were tapped by local *raja*s as income.[24] Remitting them when collected by Muslims was a way to curry popular favor.[25] In their piety and public spiritedness, they provided financial relief to pilgrims by defraying or remitting the tax along with other subsidies for worship at the great holy places of Prayāga, Benares, Haridwar, Gayā, and the temples of Somanātha and Puri. [26]

This is pertinent because King Pilājī appears to be doing something like this at Prayāga. In the introductory verses of the SAS, Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa extols Pilājī as a great patron of pilgrimage to Prayāga, who freed it from taxes:

> He has devoted his great wealth to the healing of sin lowered
> in the waves of the immortal river Gaṅgā, shimmering with all-pervading glory.
> By his gifts of food, cloth, gold, places of rest, and horses daily bestowed,
> from little boy to old man, Prayāga, king of *tīrthas*, displays among the people
> its power of granting wishes, celebrated in hundreds of scriptures.
> By making the treasure of *tīrthas* free of taxes with his donations,
> people congregating from far distances easily clasp the hands of the immortal goddesses.
> Gaining first dharma, the bridge granting the fruit of the three ends of life,
> appearing like Prayāga, the triple-braided confluence,
> he took in hand the attainment of the visible and invisible ends of man. SAS 2

The translation of *tīrthānāṃ nikaraṃ vidhāya vikaraṃ yena* as "making the treasure of *tīrthas* free of taxes" depends on a conjecture that *vikaram* means "without taxes."[27] However, this is in no way evidence for dating the SAS after

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[21] At SAS 18, 56, 76 universal moral and ethical duties are required of even the low castes.
[22] Kunja Govinda Goswami, "Religious Toleration in the Gupta Period," XIII, No. 2 (June, 1937), 323-328.
[23] Shah Jahan reimposed the pilgrimage tax, as did Aurangzeb in 1679 to much popular resentment. The Marathas and the British (1809-1840) continued to collect it.
[24] Romila Thapar, *Early India: From the Origins to AD 1300* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 479.
[25] For example, in the fourteenth century, the Rajput Maharana of Mewar, Lakshman Singh, subvented the tax collected from pilgrims traveling to the sacred sites in the Gaṅgā plains by the local Muslim Turks. What's more, he did not confine himself to providing financial relief to pilgrims: he invaded the Sultanate of Jaunpur to liberate the holy places of Prayāga, Benares, and Gayā. www.royalsplendour.blogspot.com/2007/12/mewar-greatest.html.
[26] Samarendra Nārāyan Ārya, *History of Pilgrimage in Ancient India A.D. 300-1200* (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publications, 2004); Kama Maclean, *Pilgrimage and Power: The Kumbh Mela in Allahabad 1765-1954* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008); for taxation and royal patronage of the Jagannātha cult at Puri see *Dimensions of Pilgrimage: An Anthropological Appraisal*, ed. by Makhan Jha (New Delhi: Inter-India Publications), 60-67.
[27] A *kara* is a hand, a sun- or moon-beam, a tax, toll, tribute, or duty.

1563. The SAS was written for a southern Hindu king with a Hindu king's concern for Dharma and his reputation as a godly sponsor of pilgrimage. As such, it could have been written any time in the prior two centuries.

Traces of a Life

The accounts of Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa are full of tidbits of fascinating and contradictory information that are unsourced and undocumented. We are told that Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa was a Tailaṅga Brahmin. [28] The Śeṣas were Citpāvana or Deshastha Brahmins from Mahārāṣṭra. The Śeṣa family was originally from Āndhradeśa.[29] The Śeṣas were natives of the village of Nandī (mod. Nāndeḍ) on the banks of the Godāvarī River, or resided upriver in Paiṭhan.[30] They came into association with Mahārāṣṭrian Brahmins, possibly through intermarriage,[31] becoming in effect Maharashtrians. Maharashtrian Brahmins emigrated to Vārāṇasī fleeing famine, war, and Yavanas in the south or for *mokṣa*.[32] They were of the Advaita sect.[33]

Where do these facts come from? Many are speculations and inferences from works attributed to Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa or his father. Some are *anecdota* recycled from book to book. Some have harder evidence for them, e.g., the association of the Śeṣas with Nāndeḍ. Some seem to have a kernel of lost but plausible truth: that Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa was the guru of Bhaṭṭojī Dīkṣita, and Gāgābhaṭṭa contested his ideas. The best approach seemed to make a clean sweep and lay out the basic facts.

The most solid piece of evidence for Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa in Benares is a *nirṇayapatra*, a legal letter written in Marathi in 1583 (*śake* 1505) by a Ganesa Sastri Kozhrekar from Benares to the heads of the Konkan Devarṣi/Devarukh Brahmins. The letter describes the ruling by a Brahmanical council sitting in the Muktimaṇḍapa, the hall of justice connected to the recently restored Viśveśvara temple.[34] At issue was a dispute over the standing of two Devarṣi Brahmins, Vitthal Jyotiṣi and his son Kṛṣṇa, as *agnihotrī* priests (who maintain a perpetual sacrificial fire). This had been

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[28] Kaviraj 14n1; "Dakshini Pandits," 13.
[29] These two facts are in Kaviraj, *Kāśī*, 14-15.
[30] *Sphoṭatattvanirūpaṇa* with the *Tattvaprakāśika* commentary of Mahākavi Vasantryambaka Śevaḍe, ed. by Brahmananda Tripāṭhī, *Chowkhambā Surabhāratī Granthamālā* 251 (Vārāṇasī: Chowkhambā Surabhāratī Prakāśana, 1994), Intro. 3.
[31] "Dakshini Pandits," 11.
[32] Vajpeyi develops an "ethno-theory of cultural flow" on such speculations, 30-42.
[33] Aryavaraguru, 247.
[34] See note 81 for sources.

subject to a hostile challenge which the council in Benares resolved by affirming the decision that Devarṣi Brahmins had the same "vedic karmas" as Chitpavan and Maharashtra Brahmins and should share food with them in amity.[35]

Several leading paṇḍits from the north and south are named as present: Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭa Paṇḍita, who is called "the head of the Maharashtras," Bhāvagaṇeśa Dīkṣita of the Citpāvana Brahmins and student of Vijñānabhikṣu, Kṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭa, leader of the Karhades from the Konkan, Gopi Bhaṭṭa of the Gurjaras, Vidyānivāsa Bhaṭṭācārya, head of the Gauḍa (Bengali) paṇḍits, and Raghupati Upādhyāya, the famous scholar of Mithilā, Vaiṣṇava poet, and associate of Chaitanya and the six Gosvāmis, who settled in Vārāṇasī in his old age.

Pollock, Vajpeyi, O'Hanlon, and Deshpande see such legal documents as illustrating Vārāṇasī's role at this time as a center not only of dharma scholarship, but of transregional judicial authority where disputes over *varṇa* status and privilege back home were referred for adjudication.[36] Caste controversies "on appeal" from back home in the Deccan would have been a special concern for Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa as a *pramukha* Mahārāṣṭrian.

The Nāndeḍ lineage lists (*vaṁśāvalis*) that V.A. Kanole discovered confirm the long association of the Śeṣas with Mahārāṣṭra.[37] Kanole was an "indefatigable and enthusiastic" scholar of Nāndeḍ, who went to the Śeṣa family in the 1940's, when they were still living in Nāndeḍ, and got access to their family documents, lots of lineage lists, land and revenue records, and remembered family history, but curiously little in the way of Sanskrit *śāstra*.[38] He gives genealogies for nine lineages with 100-200 names of male family members. The Śeṣa family of was as large as it was prestigious. The Nāndeḍ Śeṣas were Āsvalāyanasūtrī Deśastha Brahmins of the Pārāśara *gotra*.[39] Their founder (*mūla puruṣa*) was a Rāmakṛṣṇa in the 13th century. One document puts the Śeṣas in Nāndeḍ around 1400.[40] Nāndeḍ was an important scholarly center and *tīrtha* like Paiṭhan upriver. In it was a neighborhood of Brahmins called Siddhanathapuri where the Śeṣas once had a compound, now derelict.

Kanole's view is that the Śeṣas were originally from Nāndeḍ. It is unclear, however, what the relationship is between the three or four families of Śeṣas in Kāśī, whose genealogies are less well known—Rāmacandra-Nṛsiṁha-Kṛṣṇa is apparently only one of them—and the Nāndeḍ lines or between them and the earlier Śeṣas, as examined

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[35] For the details see O'Hanlon, "Letters Home," 20-24.
[36] Pollock, "New intellectuals in seventeenth-century India," 21; Vajpeyi, 23-24. The fullest examination now of the interaction between Brahmins families in Benares and their homes in Maratha country in judicial rulings is O'Hanlon, "Letters Home."
[37] Kanole, "The Śeṣa Family of Nāṇdeḍ," in *Mahamahopadhyaya Prof. D. V. Potdar Sixty-First Birthday Commemoration Volume*, 56-73 (Marathi Section).
[38] Joshi, "'Ālī 'Ādil Shāh I of Bījāpūr (1558-1580) and his Royal Librarian: Two *Ruq'as*," 98.
[39] Kanole, 57.
[40] Kanole, 62n6.

previously in the section on dating. None of his Nāndeḍ lineages match the stemmata for Śeṣa Family I or II.[41] One can only say that the circumstantial evidence preponderates that the Kāśī Śeṣas were some stem of the family group from the Godāvarī-Paiṭhan-Nāndeḍ region.

Kanole thinks that Viṣṇu, the ancestor of this line, migrated to Benares around 1400 and Nṛsiṁha in the first half of the 16th century, thus corroborating my independently arrived-at conclusion on this point. We see that Śeṣas were residing in Benares by 1473 from a record of property division dated śake 1551 with the names of Śeṣas as both residents (*kāśīkāras*) and cosigners.[42] What is clear is that Śeṣas were moving back and forth between Kāśī and the Deccan throughout this time. Kanole mentions later Śeṣa paṇḍits and poets whom various sources put at the Bījāpūr, Mughal, and Maratha courts.[43]

The Nāndeḍ lineage lists corroborate the verse in the *Murārivijaya*, a play attributed to Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa, placing the family on the Godāvarī River.[44]

> अस्ति किल दाक्षिणात्यस्य गोदारोधोवास्तव्यस्य श्रमद्विश्वरूपावंशवनमुक्तामणेरधिविद्यानगसभं
> वद्वद्वंदवितीर्णभट्टारकापरनाम्नोभट्टनृसिंहस्यात्मजः कृष्णभट्टो नाम महान्विद्वत्कविः ।

> The great and learned poet Kṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭa is the son of Bhaṭṭa Nṛsiṁha on whom was bestowed the title of Bhaṭṭabhaṭṭāraka in the court of Vidyānagara [Bījāpūr], the crowning jewel of the society of scholars, resident in the south on the banks of the Godā.

The author's name is given as Kṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭa. The 1583 *nirṇayapatra* says that Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭa Paṇḍita was in attendance. Apparently, therefore, Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa was also known by the name Kṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭa. He calls himself Kṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭa in several of his grammatical works as well.

Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa's Family

If Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa was in the 16th century, his sons and grandsons are men mainly of the 17th. The NCC ascribes to his brother, Śeṣa Cintāmaṇi, the *Parimala*, a commentary on the *Rasamañjarī* of Bhānudatta, a treatise on rhetoric

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[41] See the *vaṁśāvalis* at the end.
[42] Kanole, 61.
[43] Kanole, 63-4.
[44] Cited in "On the Śeṣas" 247.

(*alaṁkāra*); the *Rukmiṇīharaṇa*, a *nāṭaka* on Rukmiṇī's abduction and marriage to Kṛṣṇa; a commentary on the *Meghadhūta*; and the *Candaḥprakāśa*.[45]

Unaccountably, the NCC makes Śeṣa Cintāmaṇi the son of Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa. The colophons of the *Parimala* and *Rukmiṇīharaṇa* clearly state that the author is the son of Śeṣa Nṛsiṁha and lived at Bradhnapura, which is a town on the Tapti River flowing through northeastern Mahārāṣṭra and Gujarat, and another piece of evidence for the Deccan origin of the Śeṣas.[46] The colophon of the *Parimala* gives a completion date of 1552.[47]

Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa had two sons, Vireśvara and Nārāyaṇa. Vireśvara authored no works we know of, but, according to honorable mentions in their works, was the *guru* of Annaṁbhaṭṭa and Jagannātha Paṇḍita.[48] Annaṁbhaṭṭa studied grammar with Vireśvara in Kāśī, but is best know as the author of a popular introduction to Nyāya, the *Tarkasaṃgraha*. Jagannātha Paṇḍita was a famous scholar-poet at the courts of Shah Jahan and the last great poet to write in Classical Sanskrit.[49] Rosalind O'Hanlon thinks Viśveśvara may be the Śeṣo- pakhya Viśveśvara Śarma listed among the attendees at a Brahmin assembly in a 1630 *nirṇayapatra*.[50]

To Śeṣa Nārāyaṇa, the younger brother of Śeṣa Vireśvara, the NCC attributes the *Sūktiratnākara* (Jewel Mine of Wise Sayings), a *ṭīkā* on the *Mahābhāṣya*.[51] Parshuram Paranjape also attributes the *Akhaṇḍa-mañjarī* (Aniṅgya-lakṣana), a work on compound words not separated by an *avagraha* in the Pada-pāṭha, the *Tapara* (Sarva-tapara), and the *Natānta-pādani* (Napara) to him as well.[52] The NCC attributes the latter two texts to another Śeṣa Nārāyaṇa. Paranjape believes that the two Śeṣa Nārāyaṇas are the same person and the son of Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa; he therefore ascribes all the works in the NCC to him.

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45 NCC VII.59b.

46 Cecil Bendall, *Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London, 1902), 109, No. 274. The brothers Cintāmaṇi and Kṛṣṇa appear to have shared an interest in Kṛṣṇa *kāvya*, both writing on the wives of Kṛṣṇa. R.J. Mitra and M.M. Haraprasad Sastri, *Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts* (Delhi: Sharada Prakashan, 1990), vol. IX, no. 3115, 194-195. Kanole is not so uncertain where Bradhnapura is. Kanole, 62n6.

47 A mid-16th century date for Cintāmaṇi accords best with the evidence.

48 *The Philosophy of the Grammarians*, 237; and "On the Śeṣas" 250-51. In the first two prose sentences of the *Manoramākucamardanam*, edited by Madhusūdhan Śāstrī with the *Bālakrīḍā* Hindi commentary by the editor, *Krishnadas Sanskrit Series* 34 (Varanasi: Krishnadas Academy, 1983), Jagannātha states that his teacher was Vireśvarapaṇḍita of the Śeṣa *vaṁśa* and Vireśvara's sons had written a critique of Bhaṭṭojī.

49 Sheldon Pollock, "The Death of Sanskrit." See the "third movement" on Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja, the king of scholars, as the "last Sanskrit poet," pp. 404-12.

50 "Letters Home," 25.

51 NCC 89a. The first two *āhnika*s of the *Sūktiratnākara* have recently been published, edited by B.V. Bhagavat, Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series, No. 140 (Pune, 1999). Eggeling, I. 158-59, no. 590. A later hand has added the date *saṁvat* 1575 (1518 CE).

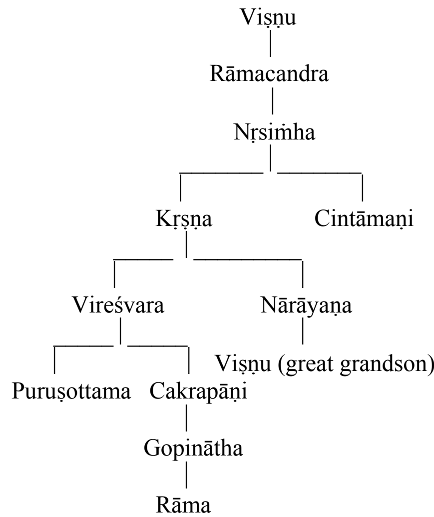
52 *Kṛṣṇayajurvedīyaḥ Samānasaṅdhiḥ*; NCC X. 69ab; *Vedalakṣana* 372 73, 388-389.

In the verse preamble of the *Sūktiratnākara*, after *stotra*s to Gaṇapati, Caṇḍīkā, Kāmākṣī, and Kṛṣṇa, Śeṣa Nārāyaṇa pays tribute his father and names five of his grammatical works.

> I revere Kṛṣṇa, teacher of the world, embodiment of compassion, delighting
> in his divine pastimes, the one captivator of creation, infinite and eternal.
> Author of an inquiry into the topics in and out of the Bhāṣya, Ṡrī Śeṣa, like no other
> is regarded for the thousand-mouthed wisdom of Śeṣa shining in his commentaries.
> His book, *Desire of Ṡrī Kṛṣṇa*, a commentary on the *Ṡrī Padacandrikā*,
> composed by immersion in the eight-fold grammar, is now complete. 5
> He wrote the *nibandha*, *Śabdābharaṇa*, the true *ṭīkā* on the *Prakriyākaumudī*,
> and composed the *Prakṛtacandrikā* patiently to help the whole world.
> Like no other, Ṡrī Kṛṣṇa, the son of Nṛsiṁha Sūri, has become
> the ornament of learned men, digging into the six systems of philosophy. 6

Note the ambiguity of father and deity. He goes on to say (vv. 7-15) that he composed the work at the ur-ging of King Phirinda, praising his valor in many verses; the *ṭīkā* he has written for him on the *Mahābhāṣya* is superior to prior or "old" *ṭīkā*s; and, with devotion to Ṡrī Kṛṣṇa, nothing is impossible. Evidently, the son was as great a devotee of Ṡrī Kṛṣṇa as his father. [53]

The Ṡeṣa Family



[53] Interesting trivia: his student, Rāmacandra Ṡeṣa, wrote a commentary, the *Bhāvadhyotanikā* on the *Naiṣadhacarita* of Ṡrī Harṣa (see CC 306b, under the entry for "Naiṣadhīyacarita"); and his great-grandson, Viṣṇu, wrote a *Prakāśikā* on the *Mahābhāṣya* (see *The Philosophy of the Grammarians*, 243).

Śeṣa Cakrapāṇi, Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa's grandson, was the younger son and pupil of Vireśvara, the younger brother of Puruṣottama, and the father of Gopinātha.[54] The date in the NCC for him, 1443-1493, is way off, too early by a century and a half.[55] Among other works, he wrote an important "shattering" critique of Bhaṭṭojī Dīkṣita's *Prauḍhamanoramā* called the *Khaṇḍana*. Bhānujī Dīkṣita, Bhaṭṭojī's son, answered with a defense of his father, the *Manoramāmandana*.[56] This is all indicative of the vigorous debate and controversy among contemporaries that became more visible in the generation after Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa. Such critical battle was always characteristic of Indian intellectual life, but it may appear to have a new intensity and immediacy for us because we have many more texts from this period.

Remarkably, Cakrapāṇi may not only be among the attendees listed in the 1630 *nirṇayapatra* as Śeṣopakhya Cakrāpaṇe along with his brother Viśveśvara, but also among the attendees as Cakrapāṇi Paṇḍit Śeṣa at another Brahmanical council convened in 1657 to render a decision on the "true brahmanness" of some Devarṣi Brahmins.[57] There was a who's who of over ninety eminent paṇḍits present from "Maharashtra, Karnataka, Konkan, Tailanga, Dravida, etc," including Nīlakaṇṭha Bhaṭṭa, Anantadeva, Nṛsiṁhāśrama, Gāgābhaṭṭa, the grandnephew of Appaya Dīkṣita, and many others distinguished in Dharmaśāstra, Nyāya, and Vedānta. That makes *in toto* three legal letters documenting how active and prominent the Śeṣa family was in the institutional life of the day.

Gopinātha, is the father of Rāmacandra, the author of a commentary on the *Dharmānubandhiślokacaturdasī* of his great-great grandfather, Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa.[58]

The Gotra of Parshuram Paranjape

During an eight month stay in Pune my Sanskrit paṇḍit, Nirmala Kulkarni gave me an introduction to Dr. Parshuram Paranjape. Mr. Paranjape is a Sanskrit scholar at the Vaidik Samshodhan Mandal at Maharashtra Vidyapeeth who, amazingly, claims to be a descendant of Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa, more precisely, a member of the same *gotra*, not a lineal descendant. I had two interviews with him (Dec. 2008, Jan. 2009), Manisha Phanasalkar acting as my Marathi inter-

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[54] According to the genealogy in the *Dharmānubandhiślokacaturdaśī* 1.
[55] See NCC VI, 283, "(Śeṣa) Cakrapaṇi" and Yudhiṣṭhira Mīmāṁsaka I. 532,540-541.
[56] "On the Śeṣas," 251n8.
[57] O'Hanlon, "Letters Home," 25, 31; D.C. Bhattacharya, "Raghupati Upadhyaya," 380-381; *Bhāṭṭacintāmaṇi*, bhūmikā, 1-2.
[58] *Dharmānubandhiślokcaturdasī* 1.

locutor. He has been researching Śeṣa Nārāyaṇa, and has written a Sanskrit thesis on his works.[59] He told me a great many interesting things about the Śeṣa family, which partly have the character of family traditions. Most beguilingly, he thinks that Gāgābhaṭṭa referred to the SAS in his *Kāyasthadharmadīpa* with the phrase "yathoktam śiromaṇau."

Paranjape claims that the *gotra* of the Śeṣa family was Vṛddha Viṣṇu. This *gotra* name is of later, non-Vedic origin. Their Vṛddha Viṣṇu *gotra* distinguishes them from the earlier line of Śeṣas, who were of the Kauṇḍinya *gotra*, according to Viṭṭhala.[60] There are three surnames in the Vṛddha Viṣṇu *gotra*: Mehendele, Paranjape, and Nene. The family name of the Śeṣas was Paranjape. Śeṣa was not the original family name. The *gotra* has many members and side branches. Mehendele and Paranjape are common names in Maharashtra even today. The Paranjapes follow the Baudhāyana school of the Ṛg Veda. Śeṣa Nārāyaṇa composed a *Śrauta Prayoga* according to this school. The Mehendeles and Nenes follow the Yajur Veda. Some later Paranjapes acquired the name Deva, as they earlier had the title of Śeṣa. Paranjapes also adopted the name Mandalika. Although family names changed over time, the *gotra* Vṛddha Viṣṇu remained constant.

His claim that the *gotra* of the Śeṣa family was Vṛddha Viṣṇu is based on a verse in the *Natānta-padāni* (or *Napara-Lakṣaṇa*), which he attributes to Śeṣa Nārāyaṇa, son of Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa, rather than to another Śeṣa Nārāyaṇa as does the NCC.[61] The NCC attributes the *Natānta-pādani*, *Tapara*, *Napara*, and some works on Mīmāṁsā, including the *Śrautaprayoga* to a Śeṣa Nārāyaṇa, son of Vāsudeva and grandson of Ananta,[62] and the *Sūktiratnākara* to Śeṣa Nārāyaṇa, son of Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa.[63] Paranjape believes that one Śeṣa Nārāyaṇa wrote all the works ascribed in the NCC to these two authors. He adds the *Akhaṇḍamañjarī* (or *Aniṇgya-Lakṣaṇa*), composed in 1600-1611 on the topic of compound words, which the NCC does not mention at all.

His argument is as follows. In the verse at the end of the *Natānta-pādani* the author calls his family "vṛddhaviṣṇukula" and his father Garuḍadhvaja.

harim namaskṛtya nateṣṭadam vibhuṃ
jagannivāsaṃ tam adhokṣajaṃ param
dayānidher yasya kaṭākṣamātrataḥ
prayāti mūko 'pi paṭutvam añjasā

[59] Parshuram Paranjape, *Kṛṣṇayajurvedīyaḥ Samānasaṅdhiḥ*, unpublished thesis deposited at Vaidik Samshodhan Mandal, Maharashtra Vidyapeeth, Pune, India.
[60] *The Prakriyākaumudī of Rāmacandra*, with the *Prasāda* of Viṭṭala, I.1.
[61] Following *Veda-Lakṣaṇa* 388-389.
[62] NCC X.69ab.
[63] NCC 89a.

labdhvā paraśurāryakumārād yajvanaḥ kṛpām
viṣṇuvṛddhakulābhīndugaruḍadvajasūnunā
natayoḥ kriyate ṭīkā bahvṛcānāṁ mude mayā

Worshipping Hari, the all-pervading, in whom the whole world rests,
the transcendent, the supreme, at a mere glance from him,
the treasure of compassion, even the dumb become sharp instantly.
I, the son of Garuḍadvaja, moon on the ocean of the Vṛddha Viṣṇu family,
have written this commentary for the joy of Vedic priests. .

Paranjape problematically takes *kula* as *gotra*, letting him identify the *gotra* of the Śeṣa family as Vṛddha Viṣṇu. Why are the two Śeṣa Nārāyaṇas in the NCC the same man? In both the *Natānta-padāni* and *Akhaṇḍamañjarī*, Śeṣa Nārāyaṇa refers to his father Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa under the names of Viṣṇu in line with the convention that great scholars of grammar were incarnations of Viṣṇu, Nāga Śeṣa and Śeṣa Patañjali. In the *Akhaṇḍamañjarī*, he calls his father Vāsudeva, and his grandfather, Ananta. This presumably led the NCC to mistake Śeṣa Nārāyaṇa, son of Vāsudeva, for a different person from Śeṣa Nārāyaṇa, son of Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa. On this reasoning, the Garūḍadhvaja,[64] another of the names of Viṣṇu, in the verses above from the *Natānta-pādani* is also Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa. Similarly, in the *Sūktiratnākara* (vv. 4-6) Śeṣa Nārāyaṇa plays on the name of Kṛṣṇa as both father and deity, expressing again the traditional belief that the human and divine coincide in the person of the guru as the very embodiment of wisdom and learning.

It is difficult to know what to do with this argument. It has a certain plausibility from the point of view of traditional guru reverence, but it rests on one piece of tenuous textual evidence and the indemonstrable supposition that divine names are being applied to persons. Therefore, I have not placed much weight on it among the pieces of evidence in support of my contention that the *gotra*s of the early and late Śeṣas are different and therefore Nṛsiṁha and the *Govindārṇava* are datable to the 16th century.

Word play with *śeṣa* and identification with Śeṣa Patañjali are, not surprisingly, common with regard to the Śeṣa family and are found in Nṛsiṁha, Śeṣa Govinda, Bhaṭṭojī Dīkṣita, and Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa himself. The studied ambiguity in such punning on *śeṣa*, with its potent associations with Śeṣa Viṣṇu and Patañjali, makes it difficult to assess Nṛsiṁha's claim in the *Govindārṇava* that old man Viṣṇu was his ancestor. Śeṣa Cintāmaṇi likewise traces the genealogy of the Śeṣa family back to mythic origins in his *Rukmiṇīharaṇa*.[65]

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[64] Ibid.
[65] Bendall, *Catalogue* no. 274, p. 109.

Mr. Paranjape wisely warned me against relying on encyclopedias and secondary sources with their reproduction of unauthenticated information as, for example, that Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa was a Tailaṅga Brahmin and just about everything else in Kaviraj's *Kāśī kī Sārasvata Sādhanā*.

As for his claim that Gāgābhaṭṭa mentions the SAS in his *Kāyasthadharmadīpa*, this remains unverified. The text needs to be more thoroughly combed than I have been able to do. I suspect it may be an error or misreading on his part. In any case, a mere mention of the *Śūdrācāraśiromaṇi* without the author's name would do little to corroborate Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa's authorship or date the text. Nor would it shed light on the legend of Gāgābhaṭṭa's attack in his campaign on behalf of Śivājī's kṣatriyahood on the view attributed to Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa that in the Kaliyuga the Kṣatriya *varṇa* had disappeared and only the Brāhmaṇa and Śūdra *varṇa*s remained.

Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa Guru

The high repute in which Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa was held in the field of grammar and his influence on subsequent students is well known and requires no repetition. A verse in Śeṣa Govinda's *Sarvasiddhāntasaṁgraha* captures it:

> Sarasvatī knows the truth of the bhāṣya spoken by the serpent Ananta,
> on earth Śeṣa or Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa, no one else.[66]

Who is this Śeṣa Govinda? No clue. Just another of the many unplaceable Śeṣas listed by Aryavaraguru.[67]

Aryavaraguru also claims that Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa was *the* founder of the Benares School of Grammar, which included such later luminaries as Bhaṭṭojī and Nāgojī Dīkṣita.[68] It is not clear what relationship Bhaṭṭojī had with Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa, but it is certainly plausible that he learned grammar from him. In a verse found in one older manuscript of the *Śabdakaustubha*, Bhaṭṭojī says that Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa was his guru.[69]

> I had Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa as my guru, not different from Śeṣa,
> who taught me all the sentences of Śeṣa himself.

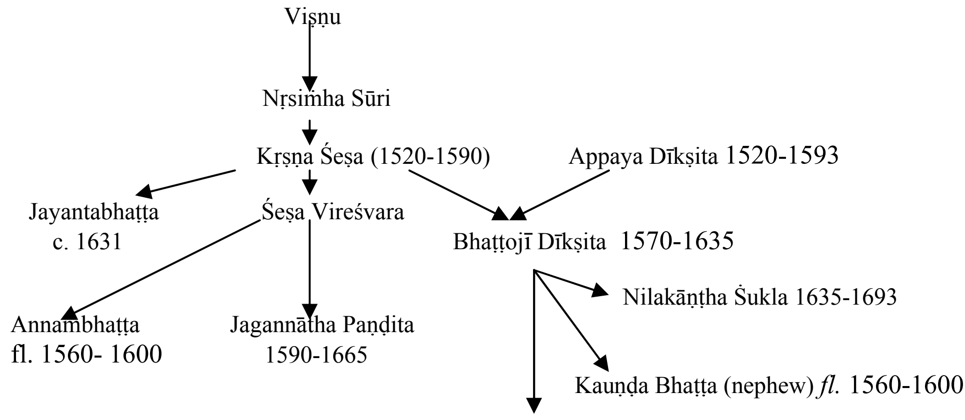
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[66] *Sphoṭatattvanirūpaṇa*, Prakkathanam 3.
[67] Aryavaraguru in "On the Śeṣas," (252) dates him to *fl.* 1590, but what his relation to Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa may have been is unknown, perhaps a family member. See *Encyclopedia of Indian Philosophies*, vol. I, compiled by Karl Potter, 2nd rev. ed. (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1983), 378. In Kanole, bearers of the Śeṣa family name are scattered all around from Kāśī to Bījāpūr to Ujjain. The Nāṇḍeḍ lineage lists have several Govindas. Kanole, 71.
[68] As asserts Aryavaraguru, 247.
[69] *Śabdakaustubha* of Śrī Bhaṭṭojī Dīkṣita, ed. Paṇḍit Gopāl Śāstrī Nene and Pt. Śrī Mukund Śāstrī Puṇtāmkar, 3 vols., *Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series* 2 (Varanasi, 1991), I: *bhūmikā* 1. Elsewhere, he refers to the *Prakriyāprakāśa* of his *gurucaraṇa*. See Suryakant Bali, *Bhaṭṭojī Dīkṣita: His Contribution to Sanskrit Grammar* (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, 1976), 4n8.

On the other hand, the acute critique of him in the *Prauḍhamanoramā* rather suggests some rivalry between them[70] Be that as it may, Bhaṭṭojī made his home in Vārāṇasī and must have been personally know to Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa.[71] His most famous work is the *Siddhāntakaumudī*, the most popular primer on Pāṇini. Jagannātha Paṇḍita (1590-1665) in turn takes Bhaṭṭojī to task in his *Manoramākucamardana* and is usually construed to say that Kṛṣṇa Paṇḍita was Bhaṭṭojī Dīkṣita's teacher.[72] He accuses him of writing with base motives and confusing Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa's ideas.[73]

Was there a parallel lineage of influence on subsequent Dharmaśāstra paralleling his grammatical influence? The only positive evidence for it is the commentary on his *Dharmānubandhiślokacaturdasī* by his great-great grandson Rāma, hinting that his work on dharma may also have been held in some esteem. S. C. Banerji speaks of the "Vārāṇasī School of Dharmaśāstra," including in it Lakṣmīdhara, Dalapati, Vireśvarabhaṭṭa, author of the *Śūdradharmabodhinī*, Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa, Kamalākarabhaṭṭa, and Nandapaṇḍita, but makes no mention of Kṛṣṇa.[74] As noted above, Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa did have some kind of impact on the Bhaṭṭas, if only in legend, as one of the rival families of Deccan derivation who came to dominate the intellectual life of Vārāṇasī. In fact, Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa's main stimulus on both later grammarians and neo-*smṛtikāra*s seems to have been as an object of attack, despite his veneration as another incarnation of Śeṣa.

Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa's Śiṣya-Guru Paramparā



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[70] Suryakant Bali, *Bhaṭṭojī Dīkṣita*, 7.
[71] *The Philosophy of the Grammarians*, 240; *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar,* 38-40.
[72] Aryavaraguru rejects this reading, making Śeṣa Vireśvara his teacher (251).
[73] The locus for these statements is the first two prose sentences of the *Manoramākucamardana*, quoted in Hueckstedt, "Some Later Argument on *iko yaṇ aci*," 51n18. iha kecin nikhilavidvanmukuṭanaṇimayūkamālālālita caraṇakamalānām gīrvāṇagurugauravagrāsamāṁsalamahimamaṇḍitākhaṇḍamahīnamaṇḍalānāṁ śeṣavaṃśāvataṁsānām śrīkṛṣṇākhyapaṇ-ḍitānām cirāyārcitayoḥ pādukayoḥ prasādāsāditaśabdānuśāsanās teṣu ca pārameśvaram padam prayāteṣu kalikāla-vaṁśavadībhavantas tatra bhavadbhir ullāsitam prakriyāprakāśam āśayānavabodhanibandhair dūṣaṇaiḥ svayam nirmitāyām manoramāyām ākulya-kārṣuḥ. sā ca prakriyāprakāśakṛtām pautrair akhilaśāstra mahārṇavamanyācalāyamāna-mānasānām asmadguruvīreśvarapaṇḍitā-nām tanayair dūṣitāpi svamati parīkṣārtham punar asmābhir api nirīkṣyate.
[74] Banerji, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, 57-61, 151-53.

Vireśvara & Bhānu Dīkṣita (sons)



Hari Dīkṣita



Nāgojī Dīkṣita (1670-1750)

Aryavaraguru takes notes of another disciple of Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa, one Jayantabhaṭṭa, dated to the seventeenth century.[75] Another member of the "Benares School" recasting Pāṇini, he wrote the *Tattvacandra*, an abbreviation of the *Prakriykaumudī* and *Prakāśa*. This is what he tells us about himself and his *guru*.[76]

> After imbibing the essence of Śrī Kṛṣṇa Paṇḍita's ocean of teachings, savory with argument respecting Śeṣa, Jayanta wrote a short, to the point exposition on the *Satkaumudī* to delight the excellent.
> He was born on the bank of the Tapti in Prakāśāpurī, illumined by his father, Śrī Madhusūdana, jewel of the learned.
> After looking at all the opinions of scholars, he collected their principles and completed an analysis. Considering that access to the ocean of Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa's teachings is difficult for those of little intelligence, he opened this little spring for their sake, revealing the light of truth in them. With Jayanta's assistance, may it long shine in Kāśī.

Works Attributed to Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa

In the late 19th century scholars such as Oppert, Bühler, Kielhorn, Peterson, and Bhandarkar catalogued the Sanskrit manuscripts scattered about in India in libraries and private collections. They turned up works by Kṛṣṇa, Kṛṣṇa son of Nṛsiṁha, Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa, Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa, Śrī Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa, Śrī Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa, Kṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭa, Kṛṣṇa Kavi, Kṛṣṇa Paṇḍita, and so on, not knowing if these were by the same author or not. Their finds were compiled by Theodor Aufrecht in the *Catalogus Catalogorum*: *An Alphabetical Register of Sanskrit Works and Authors*, vol. I. pt. 1, 117-18; 661-62.

The *Catalogus Catalogorum* attributed the works now allotted to a single Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa in the NCC to three different Kṛṣṇas: Kṛṣṇa or Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa, Kṛṣṇa Paṇḍita and Śeṣakṛṣṇa. The Kṛṣṇa of the SAS is catalogued separately from the poetic Kṛṣṇa and the grammarian Kṛṣṇa.

Seven poetic works, two *campū*s, one *kāvya*, and four *nāṭaka*s are attributed to Kṛṣṇa or Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa, the son of Narasiṅha or Nṛsiṅha:

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[75] NCC VII, 180a; Eggeling, *Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office*, II. 170-71, no. 625. The ms. is dated to *saṁvat* 1687. If it is not a later copy, that would put Jayanta c. 1630.

[76] Sanskrit text in "On the Śeśas," 250.

Pārijātaharaṇa	*Murārivijaya*
Uṣāpariṇaya	*Satyabhāmāvilāsa*
Kriyāgopana	*Satyabhāmāpariṇaya*
Kaṁsavadha	

To a Kṛṣṇa Paṇḍita or Kṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭa, son of Narasiṅha or Śeṣa Nṛsiṅha, the CC ascribed five works on grammar:

Padacaṅdrikā	*Upapadamatiṅsūtravyākhyāna*
Prakriyāprakāśa	*Yaṅlugantaśiromaṇi*
Prakṛtacandrikā,	

And to another completely different Ṡeṣakṛṣṇa is ascribed the SAS. Given the plurality of Kṛṣṇas, Kṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭas, Kṛṣṇa Paṇḍitas and Kṛṣṇa Kavis, the many works ascribed to them, and the improbability of them all being by one Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa, this caution was and remains prudent.

The *New Catalogus Catalogorum* (IV.365ab-66a) credits thirteen works to Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa or Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa, adding the *Sphoṭatattva*, *Śabdālaṇkāra*, *Kṛṣṇakautūhala*, *Dharmānubandhiślokacaturdasī*, and the *Govin-dārṇava* with Ṡeṣakṛṣṇa as coauthor, and deleting all the literary works but two: the *Kaṁsavadha* and the *Pārijātaharaṇa*.

Works of Kṛṣṇa Ṡeṣa in the New Catalogus Catalogorum (1968)

Pārijātaharaṇa	*Dharmānubandhiślokcaturdasī*
Padacaṅdrikā	*Kṛṣṇakautūhala*
Kaṁsavadha	*Prakṛtacandrikā*
Śūdrācāraśiromaṇi	*Yaṅlugantaśiromaṇi*
Prakriyākaumudīprakāśa (or *Gūḍhabhāvavivṛti*)	*Śabdālaṇkāra* (or *Śabdābharaṇa*)
Upapadamatiṅsūtravyākhyāna	*Sphoṭatattva*
Govindārṇava	

Aryavaraguru listed eleven works, adding the *Murārivijayanāṭaka* and omitting the Uṣā and Satyabhāmā *kāvya*s, the *Govindārṇava*, *Dharmānubandhiślokcaturdasī*, and *Śrīkṛṣṇakautūhala.* He included the SAS with the proviso that its authorship is "still open to question" (249). It still is.

Works of Kṛṣṇa Ṡeṣa in "On the Śeṣas" (1912)

Upapadamatiṅsūtravyākhyāna	*Murārivijaya*
Kaṁsavadha	*Yaṅlugantaśiromaṇi*
Padacaṅdrikā	*Śabdālaṇkāra*
Pārijātaharaṇa	*Śūdrācāraśiromaṇi*
Prakriyāprakāśa	*Sphoṭatattva*
Prakṛtacandrikā	

Of these texts, the *Kaṁsavadha*, *Prakriyāprakāśa,* and *Pārijātaharaṇa* are the most securely ascribed to the same author by internal evidence. On what basis the others are is not always clear, presumably, on a name basis. The *kāvya*s are especially problematic. As noted before, some of them, such as the *Kriyāgopana*, have Kṛṣṇa Kavi as author.[194] Is Kṛṣṇa Kavi Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa? There are a few pieces of literary evidence arguing for the identity of the poetic and grammarian Kṛṣṇas.

As mentioned earlier,[195] shared verses linking the *Kaṁsavadha* (KV) and *Prakriyāprakāśa* (PKP) led Trivedi to conclude that the commentator (*prakāśakṛt*), is the same as the author of the KV.[196] A phrase from KV 19:

पृथ्वीमण्डलमौलिमण्डनमणिः
gem in the diadem of the globe of the earth,

is repeated in the sign-off at the end of every section of the PKP.

Verse 21 from KV is repeated as verse 26 of the PKP:

मौलौ मन्दारदामभ्रमदलिपटलीकलीं श्रश्रोणिबिम्बे
कूजत्काञ्चीकलापं चरणमलयोर्मञ्जुमञ्जीरशिञ्जाम् ।
उत्सङ्गे कीरगीतं स्तनभूवि मसृणंवल्लकीपञ्चमं वा
तत्काव्ये दत्तकर्णा शिवशिव मनुते भारती भारमेव ॥

On the head, a garland of coral flowers murmuring with a cloud of bees,
on the rounded hips, the jingle of a girdle, on the feet, the twinkle of anklets,
in her lap, the song of a parrot, or on her breast, a soft lute,
giving ear to the music of these, it seems to Sarasvatī that her burden is bright.

Another verse from KV 23 is repeated as verse 34 of the PKP:

रसालंकारसारापि वाणी व्याकरणोज्झता ।
श्वित्रोपहतगात्रेव न रञ्जयति सज्जनान् ॥
Even language filled with flavor and figure, if ungrammatical,
like leprous limbs does not please a good audience.

Another phrase in KV 23:

आर्ये भूषणेंतन्न दूषणं कवीनां व्याकरणकोविदतेति
Madame, knowledge of grammar is a plus, not a minus for poets,

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[194] *Kriyāgopana* in Oppert, *List of Sanskrit Manuscript,* ms. no. 4540, p. 370.
[195] SAS 38.
[196] Trivedi, xlix-l.

rejects the idea that grammatical expertise mars poetry and "shows that the author of the *Kaṁsavadha* was a great grammarian." These verses are all in the prologue of the KV where the director (*sūtradhāra*) and actress (*naṭī*) are wittily sparring over whether the author, an accomplished grammarian, can be a poet. In her opinion, grammar spoils poetry with pedantry. The director defends grammatical correctness as essential to eloquence and praises the author as a man of deep learning. Kṛṣṇa Ṡeṣa speaks through the mouth of the director and actress:

Director: Sparkling gem of the whole world, the son of Śrī Nṛsiṁha,
Kṛṣṇa the poet, out of curiosity has composed a play entitled
the *Kaṁsavadha* with which he honors us. We are now going
to perform it for the delight of this fine and cultivated audience. 19

Actress: (aside) How can you put him among poets?

Director: My dear, why do you doubt it?

Writing a poem is not difficult for a person whose mind is adorned
with all fourteen arts and sciences as wonderfully as his is. 20

Actress: I'm just saying that even though he seems like a pleasant writer of verse,
clever people are critical of scholarly writers.

Director: Yes, but

On the head, a garland of coral flowers murmuring with a cloud of bees,
on the rounded hips, the jingle of a girdle, on the feet, the twinkle of anklets,
in her lap, the song of a parrot, or on her breast, a soft lute,
giving ear to the music of these, Sarasvatī thinks her burden bright. 21

and:

Not even the sweetness in the nectar-rayed moon, in the pure food of the gods,
in the trembling sea of milk thick with billowing waves of beauty,
in the bloom on the lower lip of a lovely girl matches the perfection
in the illustrious scholar-poet Kṛṣṇa Paṇḍita's waves of words. 22

Actress: Well, I've heard that he's rigorously trained in grammar. How can he be a poet?

Director: Knowledge of grammar is a grace, not a blemish.

Speech that is full of emotion and figures of speech, but ungrammatical,
like a sick body, does not entertain. 23

Actress: I'm saying something else. I'm not attached to the notion that his tongue,
spoiled by constant application to the hard and harsh rules streaming from
the thousand poisonous mouths of Śeṣa, Lord of Serpents, may not
charm people of taste keen on sweet and mellifluous sentiments. 24

From this exchange, we can gather that Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa prided himself on his talents as a poet, although most famed as grammar guru to later outstanding figures in the field, e.g. Bhaṭṭojī Dīkṣita.[197] As a poet-scholar and a grammarian who writes dramatic verse, he rejects the typecast of the crabbed pedant who cannot write well.

These verses suggest that Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa had a conventionally high opinion of himself and his abilities, an impression seconded by Trivedi's view that his style and manner in the *Prakriyāprakāśa* is boastful and far-fetched.[198] The style of the SAS also seems, at times, nitpicking. It may be too much of a stretch, however, to see a personal style here. Self-advertisement and guru glorification were customary. Dharmaśāstra did not place a premium on individual style. The Brahmin paṇḍits of Vārāṇasī, however, did have a large investment in their reputation and prestige as independent authorities. This is the point of the long banner with which he is introduced as the author of the SAS.

śrīmatsarvatantrasvatantravidvadvara
śrīśeṣakṛṣṇanirmitaḥ śūdrācāraśiromaṇiḥ

The *Sūdrācāraśiromaṇi* composed by Śrī Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa most excellent
among master scholars learned in all the venerable sciences SAS 1

Without reading too much significance into this title (it was probably the work of the copyist or editors), it does capture the value placed on personal distinction and autonomy by these free-lancing paṇḍits. Individual *réclame* and family repute garnered the patronage of the little *rāja*s who were commissioning works from Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa and his father. The Śeṣas and Bhaṭṭas were, in a sense, scholarly entrepreneurs. Paṇḍits such as Gāgābhaṭṭa were like "traveling Sanskrit consultants."

Vajpeyi traces this new stress on self-promotion to a crisis of patronage in the Sultanates that sent southern Brahmins north to Kāśī drawn there by its pan-regional centrality as a seat of Sanskrit learning and law. It was the place to seek fame and fortune.

> …it was as though *kṣatriya*-s had disappeared altogether from the world of Maharashtra's *brāhmaṇa*-s. With them vanished an era of brahmanical influence. The *brāhmaṇa*-s of this world-without-*kṣatriya*-s left their unmoored city, went elsewhere. In their new home in Kāśī, they were no longer able to rely on politically powerful local Hindu patrons. With the disappearance of the "*brahmakṣatriya*" complex of hegemonic interests, the relocated Maharashtrian *brāhmaṇa*-s became—were forced to become—autonomous historical agents who would work for small-time Hindu *rājā*-s wherever they might be located, in any radial direction from Banaras.[199]

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[197] S.K. Belvalkar, *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar* (Delhi: Bharatiya Vidya Prakashan, 1976), 38-40 describes "recasts" of Pāṇini such as the *Siddhāntakaumudī*.
[198] Trivedi, li-lvi.
[199] Vaypeyi, *Politics of Contempt*, 36.

She locates the emergence of the new discourse on *śūdradharma* in the catering by juridical scholars such as Kamalākara and Gāgābhaṭṭa to a new class of patrons, as Derrett puts it, "consequent upon the emergence of a new Shudra (subsequently partly Shudra and partly Kshatriya) aristocracy in the Deccan."[200] The adjudication of the caste status disputes of ruling elites often of Śūdra, extra-*varṇa*, or otherwise contested origins necessitated a new discourse in Dharmaśāstra.

Because of his ties to the south, one wants to include Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa in this development. Kamalākara and Gāgābhaṭṭa were engaged in fashioning a new discourse of Śūdras in response to the new realities of caste, the upward mobility of Śūdras, and the ambiguous caste status of new ruling elites i.e., the Marathas in their homeland. There is nothing in the SAS as overt as Gāgābhaṭṭa's role in the legitimation of Śivājī and the Kāyathas. Coming several decades before, Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa is not engaged in quite the same enterprise, but, one senses, he is sailing into the winds of change.

The patronage lost and power vacuum left as Hindu kings in the Deccan fell to the Muslims and Mughals must also have contributed to the Brahmin concern with the notion of disappearing Kṣatriyas in the Kaliyuga. Again, there is nothing of this in the SAS, but it becomes a matter of some urgency later on for Gāgābhaṭṭa.

A Descriptive Catalogue of the Works

Kāvya

Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa wrote a number of Kṛṣṇa-kāvyas, indicating that he was a devotee of his divine namesake. The attribution, however, of several is tenuous. In the SAS, special attention is given to Viṣṇu *pūjā*, rather than to Kṛṣṇa devotion per se. In the SAS (220-21), Pilājī is called the son of Keśavadāsa, who is a "Parama Vaiṣṇava," devoted to the lotus feet of Śrī Govinda, and sprung from the lotus feet of Śrī Hari. That is pretty much it. Among these literary works, only the *Kaṁsavadha* and *Pārijātaharaṇa* can confidently be credited to Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa. One takes his Kṛṣṇa-kāvyas as tributaries to the outpouring of Vaiṣṇava bhakti literature in this period.

Kaṁsavadha by Mahākavi Śrī Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa.[201] The *Kaṁsavadha* is a *nāṭaka* in seven acts telling the story of the slaying of the demonic Kaṁsa by his nephew, Kṛṣṇa (Hari. 2.85-86; BhP 10.44; VP 5.15 ff). In the prologue(v. 13) KS

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[200] Quoted in Vajpeyi 39. J. Duncan Derrett, "Kamalākara on Illegitimates," *Essays in Classical and Modern Hindu Law*, vol. 3 Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1977): 230-40, on p. 240.
[201] *Kaṁsavadha*, Durgāprasāda and K.P. Parab (Bombay: Nirṇayasāgara Press, 1988).

says that the drama was commissioned and performed for Govārdhana, the son of Akbar's famous general and Minister of Finance, Ṭoḍaramalla (d. 1586), dating it roughly to the late 1500's.[202] Reference is also made to *gururgiridharināmā*. Some take this as another name for Govārdhana, but it may refer to his *guru*, possibly Giridhārinātha, the grandson of Vallabhācārya.[203] Edited and Printed in *Kāvyamāla* 6.

Pārijātaharaṇa.[204] A *campū* in five "Expirations" (*ucchvāsa*s) on Kṛṣṇa's theft of the *pārijāta* tree from the garden of Indra to appease the jealousy of his third wife Satyabhāmā. Based on *Harivaṁśa* 64-81 and *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* X. 59, the subject was popular; four other *kāvya*s are known.[205] Printed in *Kāvyamāla* 14.

In the introduction (1.18) and last verse, KS tells us that the PJH was composed at the command of the great Mahārāja Narottama, of the Śrī Vāstakas of Tāṇḍavapura. His brother is Govinda, presumably the patron of the *Govindārṇava*, making these local potentates important patrons for both KS and his father. The relation of Tāṇḍava to Kāśī is not geographically or politically clear, nor who exactly his brother, Kāśīrāja, "king of Kāśī," is (1.13).

In the first five verses, KS reverences Śambhu, Viṣṇu, Lakṣmī, Sarasvatī, and Kṛṣṇa, then extols Tāṇḍava-pura and the Śrī Vāstakas (1.9-14). I omit a lengthy prose description of Narottama's royal magnificence in commissioning the PJH. The author then introduces himself and his subject (1.17-18) assured that his devotion to Hari will purify his work of defects (19).

First Ucchvāsa

May the longing mind of Satyabhāmā rejoice in the *pārijāta* flower,
which is heavy with black bumblebees intoxicated with its sweetness.
She disdains the *mandāra* tree, bursting with fat, sluggish bees
captivated by its slowly flowing drops of nectar. 1

May her auspicious glances, the channels of the nectar of mercy,
like boats over the ocean of the world, grant us good fortune. 2

I reverence Śambhu, the power and the glory,
in his wild dance, appearing here adorned with golden earrings,
peacock plumes, coiled serpent, and drum,
shining with the splendor of the autumn clouds. 3

I reverence the lotus feet of Mukunda of surpassing beauty,
in his palace, the home of lovely Lakṣmī,
where the swift stream of the heavenly Ganges flows
with its throngs of devotees, among them Indra, in the form of a bee. 4

Like a cloudless autumn sky may Sarasvatī,
mistress of all the arts, protect us
bestowing all excellent gifts on her devotees.
With her gleaming smile she dispels the veil of darkness. 5

May the sage Vālmīki, the incarnation of poetry,
born in an anthill on a sandy beach,
who delights the mind with words full of sense,
pour out for me a treasure of wishes. 6

Sarasvatī does not go near the harshness and vulgarity of people without taste
and does not step on the quaking black mud and ash of bad men. 8

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[202] On p. 4 of the Durgāprasāda and Parab edition.
[203] *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature* 654. S.K. De, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, 468f.
[204] *Pārijātaharaṇacampū*, ed. by Dvijendra Nātha Miśra, Savasvatībhavana Granthamālā 132 (Vārāṇasī: Sampurnanand Sanskrit Vishvavidyalaya, 1991).
[205] Raj Kumari Kuba, *Kṛṣṇa-Kāvya in Sanskrit Literature* (Delhi: Eastern Book Linkers, 1982), 1-4.

Tāṇḍavapura is the ornament of the whole world, the very image of empire,
on the shore of the celestial Ganges, the abode of blessings,
where break the waves from the churning stone of sacred Mount Mandara
near the walls of the city of the Lord of Gaurī. 9

This is the city of the great Śrīvāstaka family
a broad land abounding in all good things of fortune,
whose pure and spotless honor the whole world has long acclaimed.
The crown jewel of lord-protectors in a land where misfortune has been banished,
they are the Western Mountain at dawn, red with the saffron
on the breasts of heroes' wives. 10

In a world slippery with the muck of the Kaliyuga, a dark rain falls.
The Dharma limps along weakly stumbling.
Who else but they steadfastly upholds it
sending forth a garland of valiant heroes. 11

In this city is a family of noble, pure, and distinguished character,
who rest upon Viṣṇu, the Preserver of the Universe,
whose rise was achieved through the discipline of mind
that burnt up, the God of Love, foe of Śaṅkara.
How many glories have they achieved, and still more again,
through honor shining cool and brilliant like the autumn moon. 12

Mādhava with absolute devotion to Maheśvara,
rampant as a lion over the battlefield imparted fearless courage to good men.
Then Narottama, the younger brother of Kāśīrāja, triumphs surpassing,
it is said, even Govinda, celebrated for three shining exploits. 13

Wishing to converse about Kṛṣṇa, the younger brother of Indra,
with a taste for the sweetness of new poetry, for a pill of sugar,
a cure of words for a mind more and more overcome
with a slow throbbing illness, commissioned the son of Śeṣa Nṛsiṁha. 17

I, Kṛṣṇa, a scion of the Śrī Śeṣa family, son of Nṛsiṁha Sūri, now begin
the story of the theft of the *pārijāta* tree in fine prose and verse
by command of Lord Narottama, jewel among kings, to promote spirituality
and virtue through the tender pastimes and sweet discourses of Keśava. 18

Hari will take away any and all defects of body and mind
in my language graced by pure and total devotion to Śrī Kṛṣṇa.
Let the captious vainly find fault with my poem.
There is no value in mischievous trifling with the story of Hari. 19

Mandāramaranda. "The Sweet Juice of the Mandāra Flower." A *campū* attributed to KS by Winternitz.[206] Printed in *Kāvyamāla* 52, 1895.

Kriyāgopana or ***Candrakāvilāsa***. A *kāvya* in 14 cantos on the story of the *Rāmāyana*. Doubtfully attributed to KS by Gustav Oppert since the author, Kṛṣṇakavi, is said to be the son of a Raghunātha Dīkṣita. Oppert, ms. 4540.[207]

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206 Maurice Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, trans. by Subhadra Jhā, 3 vols. (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1963), III, pt. 1, 414.
207 Gustav Oppert, *List of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Private Libraries of South India* (Madras, 1880) vol. 1, 370.

Muktācarita. Another attribution repeated in secondary sources and based on Peterson's Reports.[208] Raghunātha Gosvāmi wrote a "Pearl Story' (c. 1550) relating the pastime of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa with the *gopis* and cowherds, in which Kṛṣṇa shows them how to grow pearls.

The following works are often attributed to KS in secondary sources, entirely, it appears, on the basis of the CC.[209] The NCC omits all of them with good reason.

Satyabhāmāpariṇaya. A *nāṭaka* in which Kṛṣṇa wins the hand of Satyabhāmā in marriage by recovering the *syamantaka* jewel. Sphuliṅga also wrote another *Satyabhāmāpariṇaya* in the 16th century. (Hari. 1.39; 2.122-134; BhP 10.59 61, 83).[210] Oppert attributes it to a Kṛṣṇakavīndra.[211]

Satyabhāmāvilāsa. Another dubious attribution, possibly the same as the *Satyabhāmāpariṇaya* The CC attributes it to KS, Oppert to a Kṛṣṇakavīndra, "perhaps the same as KS," perhaps not.[212]

Uṣāpariṇaya. A *campū* on the marriage of Uṣā, and Aniruddha, the grandson of Śrī Kṛṣṇa, who rescues him from Bāṇa. Another episode from the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. MS. catalogued by Oppert.

Murārivijaya. A *nāṭaka* by a Kṛṣṇa Kavi on Lord Kṛṣṇa Murāri and his victory over the five-headed demon Mura guarding Narakasura's castle (*Vāmana* 61.68-77; BhP 10.59).[213] Another ms. catalogued by Peter Peterson containing the line:

> The great and learned poet Kṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭa is the son of Bhaṭṭa Nṛsiṁha, on whom was bestowed the title of Bhaṭṭabhaṭṭāraka in the court of Vidyānagara [Bījāpūr], the crowning jewel of the society of scholars, resident in the south on the banks of the Godā.

As discussed previously, Aryavaraguru took this line to show that KS composed the *Murārivijaya*. Nonetheless, howsoever much the circumstantial details may be agreeable, it is far from sure that Kṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭa or Kṛṣṇa Kavi is KS.

Vyākaraṇa

With the grammatical works we are on firmer ground, since this was his claim to fame. The following five titles are mentioned by Śeṣa Nārāyaṇa in the *Sūktiratnākara* (I.5-6) as works of his father.[214]

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[208] *International Encyclopedia of Indian Literature*, vol. 1: pt. 2 (N-Z) Sanskrit, Pali, Prakrit & Āpabhaṁśa, "Śeṣakṛṣṇa" 563; and M. Krishnamachariar, *HCSL*, 654. Peter Peterson, Detailed Report of the Operations in Search of Sanskrit manuscripts in the Bombay Circle, vol. IV (1899). First published in *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society XVII* (44) Bombay, 1892: xxi.
[209] as e.g. in IEOIL, HCSL, and *Kṛṣṇa-Kāvya*.
[210] *Kṛṣṇa-Kāvya* 3.
[211] *List of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, vol. II, ms. 2260.
[212] *List of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, vol. II, ms. 2888. Montgomery Schuyler, *A Bibliography of Sanskrit Drama* (New York: AMS Press, 1965), 63.
[213] *Peterson's Report*, III, 21; CC I, 462; CC II. 106.
[214] *Sūktiratnākara* by Śeṣa Nārāyaṇa, ed. by Vāman Śāstrī Bhāgavat.

Prakriyākaumudīprakāśa.[215] KS also calls it "Gūḍhabhāvavivṛti" (Exposition of the Hidden Meaning) and "Sat-prakriyākaumudīṭīkā" (Gloss on the *Prakriyākaumudī*) in the introduction and conclusion. The *Prakāśa* is a commentary on the *Prakriyākaumudī* of Rāmacandra. The grandson of Rāmacandra, Viṭṭhala, wrote a commentary on it, the *Prasāda*, in which he eulogizes in detail Rāmacandra and the earlier Śeṣas. KS sharply criticized the *Prasāda* as obscure, incompetent and dull (see for example vv. 36-38). Bhaṭṭojī roundly criticized Viṭṭhala and KS in his *Manoramā*.[216] In his 46-verse introduction, KS recounts (34) how he was commissioned to write the *Prakāśa* by Vīravara, one in the line of "petty" kings of Patrapuñja in the Ganges-Yamunā Doab, to teach grammar to his athletic son, Kalyāṇa. This Vīravara may be Birbal, a minister to Akbar.[217] KS says that his father, Śrī Śeṣa Nṛsiṁha Sūri is his *guru* in the concluding couplets (2).

Śabdālaṅkāra. A large lost work on grammar of which the *Prakāśa* is an abridgement according to verse 45:

> Like gold refined in fire, I have extracted the essence
> of the Śabdālaṅkāra and put it here out of consideration
> for good people wishing to know the principles in their purity.[218]

Śeṣa Nārāyaṇa calls it the "Śabdābharaṇa."

Padacandrikā. A versified grammar with commentary (*vṛtti*) written for Narottama by Śrī Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa, son and student of Śrī Śeṣa Nṛsiṁha Sūri. Colebrooke, Eggeling and the NCC say it is based on Sārasvata grammar.[219] Ranganathasvami Aryavaraguru rejects the claim, seeing it as clearly Pāṇinian.[220] This must be correct if neo-Pāṇinian KS is the author. The Sārasvata School of Grammar simplified and abbreviated Pāṇini, reducing his rules to 700 aphorisms.[221]

Śrīkṛṣṇakautūhala. *Desire of Śrī Kṛṣṇa.* The NCC takes this be the title of a commentary on the *Padacandrikā*, on the basis of a verse in Śeṣa Nārāyaṇa's *Sūktiratnākara* (1.5), where it is said to a *grantha* written by "immersion in the eight-fold grammar," presumably the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, and a "completed *vivaraṇa* on the *Śrī Padacandrikā*." It is not clear if by Śrī Kṛṣṇa is meant the author, deity or both, as is often the case for incarnate gurus. There is no other evidence beside this mention.

Prākṛtacandrikā.[222] a Prākrit grammar in nine chapters (*prakāśa*s) with a *ṭīkā* by Śrī Kṛṣṇa Paṇḍita, the "little sister" (v. 440) of his *Padacandrikā* He again calls Narasiṁha/ Nṛsiṁha his guru (1.3; 9.37).

The opening and closing verses.

> Bees are swarming round the forehead of Gaṇapati.
> Like the sun, he destroys the darkness of a host of calamities.
> His trunk is red like sindoor.
> I resort to the god of gods with the face of an elephant. 1
>
> Sarasvatī is writing with a lotus in her book.
> May she guide us to completion of this work.
> She pours the essence of learning into the budding mouths of new poets,
> surpassing others in sweet eloquence, like a stream of honey. 2

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[215] *Prakriyākaumudīprakāśa* by Rāmacandrācārya with *Prakāśa* by Śrī Kṛṣṇa, ed. with his 'Raśmi' by Pt. Muralīdhara Miśra, 3 vols., Sarasvatībhavana Granthamālā 111 (Vārāṇasī: Sampurnanand Sanskrit Vishvavidyalaya, 1977).
[216] Trivedi xlvi*f*; *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar* 37.
[217] So believes Ādyā Prasāda Miśra, *Prakriyā Kaumudī Vimarśaḥ*, *Sarasvatī Bhavana Studies* 16 (Vārāṇasī: Varanaseya Sanskrit Vishvavidyalaya, 1966), 125.
[218] NCC IV.365b.
[219] Eggeling, *Catalogue* Pt. 1. 252, ms. 903. NCC IV.365b.
[220] "On the Śeṣas," 249.
[221] *Systems Sanskrit Grammar* 76-87.
[222] *Prākṛtacandrikā* of Śrī Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa with auto-commentary, ed. by Prabhākara Jhā (Vārāṇasī: Amara Publications, 1969).

Bowing to the excellent lotus feet of my teacher,
I have written the Prākṛtacaṅdrikā to aid pupils with its easy and clear sense. 3

The original language is Sanskrit.
Prākrit is derived from it. Prākrit is of three kinds:
derived from the Sanskrit word, the same as the Sanskrit word, or the vernacular. 4



May clever scholars setting aside their labors,
relax at long last from their craft
and enjoy this younger sister of the Padacaṅdrikā,
the fine Prākṛtacaṅdrikā, in the company of poets. 440

Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa's modest request is that his work,
laid at the lotus feet of his teacher Narasiṁha,
the joy of the Śeṣa family, may give delight in its clear merit 441

And so, the Prākṛtacaṅdrikā written by Śrī Kṛṣṇa Paṅḍita is complete.

Sphoṭatattvanirūpaṇa.[223] This is a short Vedantic work of nineteen *kārikā*s with an auto-commentary on *sphoṭa* theory, i.e., the inherent relation between sound and meaning and the logotheism of *śabdabrahman*. *Notices* 1431. G. B. Palsule summarizes the contents observing that, though late, the work is a conservative presentation of the subject.[224] There is nothing *navya* about it. Vasantryambaka Śevaḍe's *Tattvaprakāśika* commentary includes four *kārikā*s (54) in addition to the nineteen that plainly assign the text to Śrī Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa, and, incidentally, includes the SAS among the set of texts most solidly assigned to him.

Yaṅlugantaśiromaṇi. The *yaṅlug* part of the *Prakāśa*, on the formation of the intensive without the suffix *ya*. The ms. in Eggeling does not name the author, but there is a colophon in *Notices* stating the author as Śrī Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa Paṅḍita.[225] Colebrooke described the treatise as a gloss on Raghunātha Śiromaṇi's commentary on Gaṅgeśa's *Śabdakhaṇḍa*.

Upapadamatiṅsūtravyākhyāna. MS. catalogued by Weber. 760, p.216. Nothing more is known about it..

Dharmaśāstra

Govindārṇava. This is a digest in manuscript, apparently coauthored by both Śeśa Nṛsiṁha and his son KS for Mahārājādhirāja Govindacandra (aka Govindadeva) of Tāṇḍava. Also called "Smṛtisāgara" and "Dharmatattvāloka" in the ms., it is composed in six sections called *vīci*s (waves) on *saṁskāra*, *āhnika*, *śrāddha*, *śuddhi*, *kāla*, and *prāyaś-citta*.

The 85-verse introduction lionizes Nṛsiṁha, the fourth *avatar* of Viṣṇu, and recounts the lineage of the Śrīvāstaka dynasty: Śivadāsa, Gaṅgādāsa, Maheśadāsa, Nayanasiṁha, Mahendra, Mādhavadāsa, and his sons Govindacandra, the patron of the *Govindārṇava*, Kāśīrāja, and Narottama. Nṛsiṁha then praises his father Rāmacandra, himself quite amply, and a forbear, Viṣṇu.

Glory to Nṛsiṁha. Because of the power of *māyā*,
the self-illuminating glory has taken the form of Nṛsiṁha.

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223 *Sphoṭattvanirūpaṇa* with the *Tattvaprakāśika* commentary of Mahākavi Vasantryambaka Śevaḍe, ed. by Brahmananda Tripāṭhī, Chowkhambā Surabhāratī Granthamālā 251 (Vārāṇasī: Chowkhambā Surabhāratī Prakāśana, 1994).
224 *The Philosophy of the Grammarians*, EnInPh. 214-217.
225 Eggeling, *Catalogue* I, no. 704, p. 186, and *Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, no. 1772, V. 90, respectively.

The superimposition of the mind conceals the true light of the world.
His real form is self-illumination. He has taken this second form,
whose essence is supreme bliss, attainable without the Veda.
This is the glory of Nṛsiṁha, the beginning and end of the universe.
When Nṛsiṁha suddenly manifested his terrible form
with fierce claws, Lakṣmī trembled with fear.
He withdrew that form and smiled at her.
She was astonished to see his play of *māyā*.
He embraced her with hundreds of lovely words.
May such a Nṛsiṁha protect you.
Here on the banks of the sacred Ganges, in the kingdom of Śiva,
the abode of truth, calm as Brahma, saving every creature,
the conditions are good for the four *varga*s.
He has pacified all the obstacles and broken all the fetters at Benares,
where the incarnation of valor, Śivadāsa, the king of Kāśī, laughs at Indra.
He has taken away the distress of the whole world and made the enemy tremble.
Gaṅgādāsa was born from him and was like Viṣṇu.
He made famous his name as a devotee of Gāṅgā.
He satisfied his family with glory more than all other kings.
He was the embodiment of eloquence looking down upon Indra.
After him was born Maheśadāsa, devotee of Kṛṣṇa, foe of demons.
He promoted the worship of Hari and Hara with no difference.
From him was born Prince Nayanasiṁha, who heard the lion's roar;
on the battlefield, he scattered the elephants and horses of the enemy.
In his lineage was born the ornament of the earth, King Narendra,
who delighted the eyes of the people.
The earth laughs and receives her lord with flowers like Indra.
Glorious, his enemies destroyed, ever devoted to Mādhava.
Mādhavadāsa was approached by good men, a store of the jewels of virtue. 1-33



Rāmacandra was my guru. He was well versed in all the arts and sciences,
with all the marks of a great and learned man,
rigorous in logic, Mimāṁsā, Vedānta, Sāṅkhya, and the eight systems of grammar,
a proficient composer of books, an ocean of literature, only *tilaka* of the world.
His son was the wise Śrī Nṛsiṁha, prudent, modest, the one abode of virtue,
in conduct, four-faced like Brahmā,
wayfaring in the forest of the Vedas like five-faced Skanda,
ever engaged in overturning the mountains of intellectual pride like six-faced Kārttikeya,
thousand-faced in his astonishing knowledge of a thousand *sāstra*s,
the gem of the stainless Śeṣa family.
Govindacandra himself, with his mind set on the way to uplift the *dharma*
and induced by affection, requested Śrī Nṛsiṁha, the white lotus of learned men,
to compose the *Govindārṇava*, a fine digest of *dharma*.
Nṛsiṁha composed this text for the pleasure of learned men with his permission.
This composition is my effort to collate *śruti*, *smṛti*, *Purāṇa*,
and the various digests and extract their essence.
The reader should first understand the contents.
There are six chapters explaining all the meaning of the *sāstra*s,
since the principle of dharma is not clear, due to the differing opinions in the digests.
We explain it for the satisfaction of the sincere and intelligent with the help of logic.
Although there are said to be four *puruṣārtha*s,
namely, *dharma*, *artha*, *kāma*, and *mokṣa*,
the fruits we get from them depend on *dharma*.
That is why it must be first acquired.
This is the preface to the *Smṛtisāgara* of Nṛsiṁha Sūri. 76-85

Ulwar extract 304 gives a long description of the town of Tāṇḍava near Benares, said to surpass Delhi and Kalpi.[226]

Śūdrācāraśiromaṇi.

Dharmānubandhiślokacaturdasī. A brief text of fourteen ślokas in *śārdūlavikrīḍita* meter describing various rituals of *tarpaṇa*, *śrāddha*, etc., with a *ṭīkā* by the great-great grandson of Śrī Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa, Rāma. The editor, Gopi Nath Kaviraj, praises the skill and clarity of the author and observes that "all the procedures explained in the text are typically south Indian." [227] The SAS included verses also found in it on performing *tarpaṇa* with sesame. They appear haphazardly appended, but are one of the few slim pieces of circumstantial evidence for KS's authorship.

The introduction goes:

> Honoring Śrī Kṛṣṇa, his son, Vireśvara, his son,
> the learned Śrī Puruṣottama, his son, Śrī Cakrapāṇi,
> and my guru, Gopīnātha, I, Rāma, illuminate the meaning of the ślokas
> composed by Kṛṣṇa. May it be an offering to the Lord of the Universe.

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[226] See fn. 40.

[227] Introduction, *granthaparicaya*: p. 1. सर्वो पन्थाः प्रायो दाक्षिणत्यानां सराणिमेवानुसराति ।

5

Translating the *Śūdrācāraśiromaṇi*

Is the SAS a Navya Smṛti?

Until recently, late Medieval Sanskrit was seen as an arid desert of scholasticism and pedantry, an age of encyclopedias. That is quite true, but it was also an age of great refinements in grammar, logic, philosophy, law, and belles-lettres. Late Sanskrit is currently undergoing a reevaluation and renewed study, most notably in the work of Sheldon Pollock and the other participants in the Sanskrit Knowledge Systems Project.[1] Indian scholars had always regarded this late medieval/premodern era (1550-1750) as a rich and glorious age of Sanskrit. Western scholars have now begun to come around to their view. The period is now seen not merely as one of backward-looking conservatism and hidebound traditionalism, with all the orientalist tropes of Brahmanical decadence, stagnation, and mumbo-jumbo, but as displaying many elements of innovation. It was in fact the last surge of creativity of the Sanskrit "cosmopolis," before the "death of Sanskrit." There was an explosion of brilliant developments, particularly in grammar and logic, the so-called Navya Nyāya and Navya Vyākaraṇa, what might be called the New Turn, before its end in exhaustion .[2] Indeed, Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa was one of the leading lights of neo-Pāṇinian grammar: he was most famed for his work in this field.

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[1] contributors this reappraisal of Late Sanskrit as innovative, especially in the fields of linguistics and philosophy are: Johannes Bronkhorst, Yigal Bronner, Rosalind, O'Hanlon, Jonardon Ganeri, Jan Houben, Christopher Minkowski, Dominik Wujastyk, Karen Preisendanz, and Madhav Deshpande. Their many interesting works are too numerous to cite. I direct you to the website, "Sanskrit Knowledge Systems on the Eve of Colonialism," *www.columbia.edu/itc/meal ac/pollock/sks/proposal.htm*, April, 1, 2010.

[2] Pollock in "New Intellectuals in Seventeenth-Century India", discusses *navya* discourse as a new historical phase in Hindu thought. They represented brilliant new intellectual achievements that were seen as new in their day, but in the sense of dynamic stasis and conservative innovation. The same goes *a fortiori* for Dharmaśāstra. It was the supreme repository of transhistorical truths. Stasis was "not failure, but achieved goal." Dharma was one, but as the recorder of custom and accepted social practice (*sadācāra*), as Richard Lariviere believes, Dharmaśāstra incorporated regionally varying customs and new states of affairs into its perfected world of discourse. See Richard Lariviere, "Dharmaśāstra, Custom, 'Real Law' and 'Apocryphal' Smṛtis," *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 32, no. 1 (Feb. 2004) 611-27. Consequently, the *modus operandi* of Dharmaśāstra since the Sūtra period had been to reconcile the differences in *prācām mata*, the "opinions of the revered ancients," and in *śiṣṭācāra*, the "conduct of the educated and respectable." That was not a new procedure. Of course, its methodology underwent great scholastic elaboration in Neo-Smṛti. There is a certain amount of academic hype, therefore, in the laudation of 17th century Benares. Incidentally, Pollock says that Rāmacandra was "almost certainly the uncle of Sesa Krsna." More likely, his great-great uncle if Pingree's *fl.* 1409 stands.

Something not dissimilar was occurring in Dharmaśāstra as well. Should the SAS then be included in this newness as another specimen of Navya Smṛti? Vajpeyi and Pollock think so, seeing the heightened interest in *śūdradharma* at this time as something quite new:

> The rise of a new discourse on *śūdras*, to which Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa, Kamalākara and Gāgā Bhaṭṭa contributed decisively, and the relation of this discourse to changes in polity and society in western India during the latter part of the sixteenth and through the seventeenth centuries, are the subject of a University of Chicago dissertation now in progress by Ananya Vajpeyi.[3]

They see a Neo-Smṛti paralleling Neo-Nyāya and Neo-Vyākaraṇa, stimulated by the intensified interaction between the regional schools of Mithilā, Bengal, Vārāṇasī, Orissa, Assam, and South India occurring in pan–Indian centers of intellectual life like Kāśī, and comparable in innovative debate and renewed interest in the subject of Śūdras.[4] As we can see in the case of Raghunandana, Kamalākara, and Gāgābhaṭṭa, topical controversies became common even in that most conservative of forms, Dharmashastric *nibandha*.

Navya began as a term for the logical innovations of Navya Nyāya, the school of new philosophical analysis pioneered by Gaṅgeśa (*fl*. 1320) and Raghunātha Śiromaṇi (*fl.* 1550). By the seventeenth-century, scholars are producing new kinds of scholarship that is conscious of its newness in comparison to the accumulated heritage of the past. In other words, they have become aware of the historical development of knowledge, due perhaps to the increasingly objective experience of themselves as Hindus vis à vis Muslims and Dharma as a unique cultural tradition with a past and present. This experience of novelty was accentuated by the intensifying circulation and interaction of intelligentsia, texts, and traditions in Mughal India.

We now periodize Dharmaśāstra into three or four periods by their distinctive forms: *sūtra*, metrical lawbook, commentary, and digest (*nibandha*).[5] The mnemonic aphorisms of the *sūtrakāra*s—Gautama, Āpastamba, Baudhāyana, and Vāsiṣṭha (600-100 BC)—were self-contained teachings and long coexisted without much concern with inconsistency. But, even now, the working principle was to reconcile the conflicts among schools with tradition.

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[3] "New Intellectuals in Seventeenth-Century India," 19n27. One wants to go along with this, but Pollock is assuming a lot here: that Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa wrote the SAS and was responding to contemporary issues of caste in western India, i.e., Mahārāṣṭra in the same way Gāgā Bhaṭṭa was to do in the case of Śivājī and the Kāyasthas. That Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa was reacting to "changes in polity and society" is an empty assertion, no doubt true, but undocumentable. We know too little about the particulars of time and place of composition, patron, and socio-political moment to engage in more than speculation.

[4] And not merely a generic label for the period of *nibandha* production from the 14th century on, as S.C. Banerji uses it, while fully recognizing the heightened interactions between regional schools as its chief feature. *A Brief History of Dharmaśāstra* (New Delhi: Abhinav Publications, 1999), 5-6.

[5] J. Duncan M. Derrett, *Dharmaśāstra and Juridical Literature*, *A History of Indian Literature* IV. (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1973).

Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa quotes from a great many now lost and fragmentary dharmasūtras: Atri, Uśanas, Kaśyapa Gargya, Jātukarṇya, Devala, Paiṭhīnasi, Bṛhaspati, Bharadvāja, Śātātapa, Sumantu, and Hārīta.

The *smṛtikāra*s work up the *dharmasūtra*s and earlier texts, adapting them to contemporary needs. The great verse lawbooks of Manu, Yājñavalkya, Nārada, Parāśara, and Kātyāyana (200-400 CE) were then followed by their commentators, Bhāruci (7th c.), Viśvarūpa (8th c.), Medhātithi (9th c.), Govindarāja (12th c.), Haradatta (13th c.), Kullūka (13th c.), Śūlapāṇi (15th c.), and so on.[6] The period of commentaries overlaps with the digest period. Nanda Paṇḍita, for instance, wrote a commentary of *navya* originality on the *Viśṇusmṛti* as late as 1623. Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa also quotes many texts from this mostly lost corpus of commentaries. [7]

The digest period begins, leaving aside earlier, non-extant works, with Lakṣmīdhara's huge *Kṛtyakalpataru* in the twelfth-century and lasts until the seventeenth. The topics dealt with in *śāstra* expand enormously with massive and detailed volumes on judicial procedure, civil law, gifts, vows, penance, purity, impurity, worship, *jyotiṣa*, *śrāddha*, *tīrtha*s, and *saṁskāra*s. The digests came to grips with the size, variation, and conflict of views in this mass of material by devising the characteristic methodology of the *nibandha* form. The *nibandha* grew out of the commentary, resolving discrepant views on particular subjects by collating citations from a vast array of śrauta, sautra, śāstric, paurāṇic, and tantric sources. It treats topics, not a text.

Derrett divided *nibandha*s into two kinds.[8] In the first, the author paraphrases the law through a scissors- and-paste compilation of quotations with a minimum of comment. His purpose was to restate the law by modest and impersonal loyalty to his sources. He finds his restatement by letting the primary sources speak. As Derrett puts it, "He merely showed what the true authorities might have meant."[9] The SAS is in this mold. Half of the text consists of citations. Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa often applies this method with such laconic restraint that his own view is not always obvious. He lets it emerge from his collage of citations. On the other hand, he does engage in a good deal of commentary and discussion, and in that respect the SAS is like the *Śūdrakamalākara*, an example of Derrett's second kind of *nibandha*: a lecture that quotes its sources as it proceeds and is half or more argumentation.

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[6] Derrett, 49.

[7] There is something peculiar about Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa's relationship to his sources. There is a preponderance of these later *smṛti*s over classical ones. A large volume of his quotations are from lost texts that Derrett called "bogus *smṛti*s," which he regards as spurious productions. Ludo Rocher thinks that these have not been preserved simply because no one wrote a commentary on them. Only those *dharmaśāstras* have survived that were commented on. And, in addition to the lost *smṛti*s, there are all the quotations in the SAS attributed to Manu, Yājñavalkya *et al.* that do not appear in the preserved texts.

[8] *Dharmaśāstra and Juridical Literature*, 52.

[9] Ibid., 48.

Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa displays little of the historicism Pollock sees as characteristic of *navya* literature. There is no awareness that *śūdradharma* has changed over time. He *is* aware of a diversity of views. He sets forth and resolves problems by differentiating the varying views of scholars and schools. This is typical *nibandha* procedure. However, he does not temporally position them. The idea of chronologically sorting out the *dharmasūtra*s, *dharmaśāstra*s, let alone the Purāṇas and *itihāsa*s he cites, has clearly never occurred to him.

Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa refers to predecessors as *prāc*, to old commentators as *vṛddha*, and to other schools of Dharmaśāstra, such as the "Easterners," on occasion.[10] However, he never uses historically periodizing words such as ancient (*prācīna*), modern (*navīna*), independent (*svatantra*), the up-to-date (*atinavīna*), antiquated (*jīrṇa*), contemporary (*ādhunika*), and traditionalist (*sāṃpradāyika*) that come into currency in the seventeenth century among the Bhaṭṭas and others.[11] Although the idea of advance beyond or superiority to the *prācīna* in the sense of old is not in the SAS, it comes robustly into play in the next century, even among Dharmaśāstrīs. The idea of old authorities (*prācīna*) as opposed to new scholars (*navya*) becomes common. This was a step beyond the digest writers, who referred to the aphoristic sutras and metrical lawbooks as *prācīna smṛti*.

We can conclude then that the SAS is not *nayva* in the Pollock sense. The lack of historicizing terms shows that the SAS was prior to the full take-off of that development in the 17th century. The SAS is *navya* only in the generic sense of being in the era of the *nibandha*. Its method is formally conventional. It does not directly address topical controversies as do Kamalākara and Gāgābhaṭṭa. It maintains the appearance of being hermetically sealed off from any immediate sociopolitical relevance.

The procedures Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa follows were entirely characteristic of the *nibandha*. The growing weight of tradition, the *śruti*, *sūtra*, *śāstra*, and *Purāṇa* that all had to been given their due, made the *nibandha* form of quotation and synthesis the inevitable solution. As Lariviere points out, Dharmaśāstrīs, as recorders and custodians of custom, were always responding to new circumstances and needs within the parameters of their highly traditional discourse.[12] Dharmaśāstra was the paradigm case of the "persistence of the old in the new."

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[10] Trivedi, PKP, Intro. xlviii; SAS 50, 122, 212.
[11] Pollock rounded up these historicizing terms mainly from the writings of the Bhaṭṭas: Kauṇḍa, Kamalākara, and Gāgā. "New Intellectuals in Seventeenth-Century India," 8-9. Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa is styled *svatantra*, "an independent scholar and expert," in the SAS (1). The *Sūktiratnākara* (14-16), we are told by Śeṣa Nārāyaṇa, clarifies the deep and difficult meaning of "old" *ṭīkā*s on the *Mahābhaṣya*. This was a not uncommon claim to fame, hardly invented in the 17th century, but perhaps more pronounced then.
[12] Richard Lariviere, "Dharmaśāstra, Custom, 'Real Law,'" 618-622.

The Khiste-Kaviraj Edition

I have translated the edition of the text published in two parts in 1933 and 1936 in the *Princess of Wales Sarasvatī Bhavana Texts* series. The first part was edited by Pandit Nārāyaṇa Śāstrī Khiste, professor of Literature and assistant librarian of the Sarasvatī Bhavana Library at the Government Sanskrit College in Benares. The second part was edited by the librarian of Sarasvatī Bhavana and the Principal of the College, the highly honored paṇḍit, philosopher, and prolific author Gopī Nāth Kavirāj. As librarian from 1914 to 1937, he edited seventy-two texts in the Princess of Wales series of Sanskrit texts, including the *Dharmānubhandiślokacaturdāśī* (no. 22) and the SAS (no. 44).

They produced this first edition by collating two manuscripts obtained from the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute in Pune and the other, presumably, from the MSS. collection of the Sarasvatī Bhavana Library. The two manuscripts were torn at the end so that the latter part of the text of the SAS is in a damaged and fragmentary condition. The BORI ms. is very poor, with bad handwriting, worn-out, musty, worm-eaten paper; torn pages,. missing folios 50 and 55; and the benediction, table of contents, names of authorities, and colophon tinged with red pigment. The edition itself is possibly an even worse mess, full of scribal errors, misprints, deplorable or absent punctuation, confusing placement of the text on the page, and disarrayed, run-on, and chopped up sections, paragraphs, and lines

There is an undetermined number of manuscripts of the SAS in the Sanskrit MSS. collections around India, at Baroda, Delhi, Vārāṇasī, Madras, and Pune. There are three at the Oriental Institute in Baroda alone and several at Darbhanga Sanskrit University in Bihar. Since Khiste-Kaviraj based their edition on two only, a number of questions cannot be definitively resolved: for instance, Gāgābhaṭṭa's claim that Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa held the view that here were no Kṣatriyas in the Kaliyuga. There are many confusing and problematical readings in their edition as well. A more thorough editing job may have purified the text of them. I have made use of a copy of the ms. deposited at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute in my translation,

In their introduction, Khiste and Kaviraj unquestioningly identified the author of the SAS with the famous Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa, cementing this view in place. Aryavargasvami had tentatively including the SAS in his list of the works of Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa, scrupulously commented that the authorship was still open to question. This is a question the editors of the SAS would have done well to reopen, but did not. They made the easy and attractive assumption that one and the same Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa was the author of all the works attributed to him.

Gopi Nath Kaviraj: Pandit of Kāśī[13]

Gopi Nath Kaviraj (1887-1976) was a most remarkable scholar, very much in the image of Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa himself and, like the luminaries of late Sanskrit, deeply learned in many fields of Sanskrit. He was a polymath who wrote voluminously with well-regarded erudition on epigraphy, Indian history, and on all the classic philosophical systems, as well as Yoga, Śaiva thought, and Tantric *sādhanā* and cosmology. He was regarded as a Mahayogi and spiritual teacher of divine grace on a par with Aurobindo and developed a philosophy of evolutionary salvation similar in some respects to his. I think, if I may say so, one might even detect something of his subtle understanding of *sādhanā* in the editing of the ritual detail of the SAS. If nothing else, it surely equipped him well for the task. Among his historical works, he wrote a literary history of Benares from the 13th to the 18th centuries entitled *Kāśī Kī Sārasvata Sādhanā*, which depicts the intellectual milieu in which Kṛṣna Śeṣa lived and worked.

Kaviraj would be fittingly included in his story of the paṇḍits of Kāśī as one of the last and greatest, in his case, in the field of Tantra. Kāśī has a long tradition of Tantra. He was awarded the honorific of Mahāmahopādyāya for his work in Tantric philosophy and practice. He played a leading part in the modern revival of Tantra and the rediscovery of Kaśmiri Śaivism. Kaviraj was exceptional in combining traditional Sanskrit learning with historical and critical scholarship and Tantra yogic practice. He shares with Sir John Woodroffe, a.k.a. Arthur Avalon, the credit for rehabilitating Tantra and purifying it of its supposedly negative and disreputable associations in the public mind with degraded forms of magic and sex. He recovered its ancient history of texts and practice, especially that of Kaśmiri Śaivism, as serious subjects of religious and philosophical inquiry, initiating the current western vogue for Tantra, albeit in popular forms considerably more hedonistic than he intended.

Note on Translation

Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa describes the SAS as *sakalalaghunibandham*, "an easy, but complete digest," a *śūdrapaddhati*, "a manual for śūdras."[14] Khiste says that it is *laghurapi gambhīrārtha*, "although easy, deep in meaning." In his view,

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[13] Kaviraj is himself the subject of two books as one of the leading lights of the modern Indian national cultural renaissance. *Life and Philosophy of Mahamahopadhyaya Gopinath Kaviraj, Papers Presented at the Seminar*, edited by Govinda Gopal Mukhopadhyay. Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1981, 1-6 and Govind Chandra Pande, *Mahamahopadhyaya Gopinath Kaviraj*. (New Delhi: Sahitya Akademi, 1989), 9-15.

[14] SAS 2. A *śūdrapaddhati*, "handbook for Śūdras," one assumes, was written for fellow Brahmins who would be pastoring to Śūdras, officiating as priests, performing rituals and sacrifices, and instructing them how to perform their devotions. They were not written for Śūdras to read, most of whom in any case were illiterate and without Sanskrit learning. Although, in many parts of

although there are many other *nibandha*s describing *śūdradharma*, in comparison with others of this kind, this light, easy digest arouses the greatest admiration for its superior excellence.[15]

This may be a little overstated, but the SAS text does have a remarkable character, all the many topics of *śūdradharma* are dealt with succinctly, but thoroughly. Sources are commanded with great familiarity and pointedly commented on. This, however, can seem like *mīmāṁsaka* quibbling at times. The general drift of Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa's argument can be more or less made out, but is often rendered a difficult task by his elliptical and notational mode of commentary. He will string together many citations from various *smṛti*s and Purāṇas on a particular topic, then others that present contradictions and alternative views. This is standard *nibandha* style, offering a compendium of extracts from authoritative sources. Many times he just seems interested in presenting the variety of views held on a particular question or topic and with minimal, or no discussion. He is very sparing in expressing any view of his own. This often only emerges from, or has to be inferred, from his citations. His style could be described as commentary by selective citation and could be that of either an old master or a very diligent *śiṣya*. The many referrals to his father's *Govindārṇava* suggest the humility and filial piety of a younger man for his paternal guru.

A principal explanation for the absence of strongly enunciated or novel judgments is the traditional interpretative practice of Sanskrit paṇḍits. Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa has the reverence of all Dharmaśāstrīs for *smṛti*. If it is all true in some sense, it must all be treated with respect. All the variant views and contradictory opinions are therefore laid out and compared and a resolution must come to light harmoniously from scripture itself, since the truth is already there. It is the same hermeneutical method in use since the Brāhmaṇas to interpret "apparent" variations and discrepancies in *śruti*—as, for instance, the Vedantists' forced and ingenious readings of the heterogeneous and conflicting contents of the Upaniṣads.[16] Of course, this meant in practice that points of view were smuggled in through a process of selective citation, creative etymology, and construal of meaning. A new idea or view must be shown to be consonant

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India—Bengal, Tamil Nadu—Śūdras were the social elite, they must have been largely unlettered in this period even in the vernaculars, not to speak of Sanskrit. Sanskrit education remained the jealously guarded monopoly of Brahmins. Would a manual like the SAS be copied in numbers to have any wide availability? Very doubtful, whatever might have been the case for more popular literary and devotional texts. However, some urbanized and educated groups such as the Kāyasthas were literate. Were they consulting a *vade mecum* of ritual like the SAS? Although we know little about the production and circulation of literary and scholarly manuscripts before book printing took off in the 18th century, it seems unlikely that copies of the SAS got far out of the manuscript libraries of Brahmins.

15 Introduction to the SAS, pt. 2, p. 4.

16 *Cf.* for the example, the fanciful interpretation of the flamingo's word *śūdra* in the *Brahma Sūtra* (I.3.4) as compounded from the verbs to sorrow (*śuc*) and to run (*dru*)and thus referring to Jānaśruti's grief, not to him. The purpose is to justify the Śūdras' disqualification to study the Vedas.

with tradition, since nothing is new in the *sanātanadharma*. Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa is not advancing new ideas. He finds all his conclusions already stated in *smṛti*.

The remarkable thing about the passages and verses he quotes from *smṛti*s and Purāṇas is that many of them cannot be found in any of the standard editions of the texts we have. Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa also not infrequently quotes from Dharmashastric authors and texts which are no longer extant, or only mentioned in other sources. This shows us that he had access to and knowledge of a large stock of texts now lost to us.

This raises many interesting, but difficult-to-answer questions about the kind of texts he had access to, their written and oral character and manner of transmission, and his own inherited traditions of learning and scholarship. To what extend is he, or any paṇḍit in the sixteenth century, relying on written texts or memorized oral versions? Not a few of the verses he quotes, even from Manu, are not found in our standard editions. The quotation of a text we do have is often as not a variant.

Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa presents much material, especially concerned with *gṛhya*- and *pūjā-prayoga* without any reference or source at all. These how-to-do-a-domestic ritual and worship sections are drawing on an extensive literature of supplement (*pariśiṣṭa*), practical guidebooks of procedure (*prayoga*) and "manuals" (*paddhati*).[17] These guides and manuals follow the ritual of particular schools and admit many local customs and prevailing practices. They provide much secondary information and commentary on and explanations of difficulties in the *gṛhyasūtra*s. They show how Vedic rites are modified over time or become obsolete and new ceremonies of worship of the gods, and festivities accompanying the *saṁskāra*s are introduced as cultural circumstances change.

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[17] Jan Gonda, *Vedic Rituals: The Non-Solemn Rites* (Leiden-Köln: E.J. Brill, 1980), 20.

The Gemstone of Śūdra Conduct

Composed by
the Venerable Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa,
Master of All Sciences,
Preeminent among the Learned.

Edited and introduced by
Professor of Literature,
Pandit Narayana Śastri Khiste,
Assistant Librarian, Government Sanskrit College,
Sarasvati Bhavana Library, Benares.

Printed by
Jai Krishna Das Gupta,
Vidya Vilas Press,
Benares.

1933

Table of Contents in the *Śūdrācāraśiromaṇi*[1]

[1] Adapted from the Sanskrit *anukramaṇī* in the Khiste-Kaviraj edition.

Note on the Layout of the Translation

The translation is numbered along the left side by the pages of the Khiste-Kaviraj edition from 1 to 221. Quotations from other works are inset. As far as possible, they have been located and identified along the right side by chapter and verse in published texts, the editions of which are listed in the Sanskrit bibliography. Many citations were unlocatable. A good number of Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa's citations are not to be found in the extant versions or standard editions of the texts to which he attributes them. Some works cited are lost or are in unprinted mss.

First Section

1 May Lord Gaṇapati burst asunder the flood of our sins,
as he makes a slanted blue lotus dance, a treasure of purity.[1]
The quarters of space resound with the soft beat of his flapping ears,
pricked up as he hears the low hum of a swarm of bees.
King Pilājī is pot-born Agastya, drinking up the ocean of hostile kings' power,
whose reverence and honoring of worthy Brahmins has pleased all the gods,
He has devoted his great wealth to the healing of sins lowered
in the waves of the immortal river Gaṅgā, shimmering with all-pervading glory.
By his gifts of food, cloth, gold, places of rest, and horses daily bestowed,
from little boy to old man, Prayāga, king of *tīrthas*, displays among the people
its power of granting prayers, celebrated in hundreds of scriptures.
2 Because he has made the treasure of *tīrthas* free of taxes with his donations,
people coming from far distances as they like clasp the hands of the immortal goddesses.
Gaining first dharma, the bridge granting the fruit of the three ends of life,
appearing like Prayāga, the triple-braided confluence,
he took in hand the attainment of the visible and invisible ends of man.
Steadfast in respecting and honoring the Dharma, support of good government and morality,
constant and faithful in the protection of his subjects, generous and pure of heart,
devoted to the lotus feet of Śrī Govinda, noble and courageous,
above all as guardian of the law he adorns the dharma
with excellent and imperishable wisdom.
After hearing all the dharmas from the mouths of the wise and learned,
and concerned by their confusion and mixing,

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[1] See the section on "Śūdras and the Pañcāyatana Deities." *Nibandha*s, unlike the metrical law books, reserve verse for the beginning, end, and section markers. This is true for the SAS, which opens with some ornate verses in *mālinī* meter. The proemium is a *stotra* to Gaṇapati, followed by a prose-verse section in which Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa extols King Pilājī, as he will again in the coda, for his prowess in south India and his patronage of pilgrimage and worship at the *tīrtha* of Prayāga, the holiest of sacred places, revered for washing away sins. He compares him to the pot-born Agastya, who drank up the ocean, compelled the Vindhya mountains to prostrate themselves before him, and conquered and civilized the South. Similarly, Pilājī has swallowed the hostile power of the lords of the earth. He is a faithful devotee of Lord Kṛṣṇa, a steadfast guardian of the dharma, and a benevolent protector of his people. More verses in Jagatī meter then tell us that his text is an easy, but complete manual (*paddhati*) on the customs (*dharmas*) suitable for the four *varṇa*s, written for the benefit (*śūdropakārārtham*) of Śūdras and commissioned by King Pilājī out of concern for the confused mixing of dharmas (*saṅkaraśaṅkhimānasa*).

Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa's verse is well-crafted but conventional—what one expects from a paṇḍit with a taste for writing Kṛṣṇa-kāvyas in the more pedantic age of the digest. As Derrett (*Dharmaśāstra and Juridical Literature*, 14) pointed out, late Sanskrit, following the period of the metrical law books, has all the characteristic shortcomings of late Latin: a loss of clarity and spontaneity, inelegant versification, hackneyed cliché side-by-side with scholastic over-refinement, plus a tasteless, sprawling looseness of diction that may have been due to the southern language background of many of its authors. Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa's style, however, tends to the terse and elliptic.

He begins his discussion with the origin of the Śūdras, citing the most famous text for it, *Ṛg Veda* 10.90. 12:

> His head became the Brahmin; his arms he made into the Kṣatriya;
> his thighs became the Vaiśya; from his feet the Śūdra was born.

He then cites Yājñavalkya on the foundation of *śūdradharma* and of the *varṇa* system is itself: the division between Śūdras and the three twice-born *varṇa*, the key difference being that only the twice-born have the right to use Vedic *mantra*.

> Brahmins, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas, and Śūdras are the *varṇas*;
> the difference is that the first three are twice-born; their activities,
> from the time of conception to burial, are regulated by mantras. Y 1.10

he adeptly produced a manual of Dharma
for the benefit of Śūdras, suitable for the fourth *varṇa*.
In compliance with his request, Kṛṣṇa the son of Nṛsiṁha,
after consideration of the Dharmaśāstras, composed this manual for Śūdras.

On the Origin of the Śūdras

Śruti states:

His head became the Brahmin; his arms he made into the Kṣatriya;
his thighs became the Vaiśya; from his feet the Śūdra was born. RV 10.90.12

Similarly, the *Manusmṛti* states:

To people the world, he fashioned the Brahmin, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya,
and Śūdra from his head, arms, thighs, and feet, respectively. M 1.31

The Brahmins and the others mentioned in these verses are the four main *varṇa*s, as Yājñaval-
3 kya says:

Brahmins, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas, and Śūdras are the *varṇas*;
the difference is that the first three are twice-born; their activities,
from the time of conception to burial, are regulated by mantras. Y 1.10

The same sage also explains the purpose of the division into castes:

Indeed, sons born in blameless marriages of men and women
of the same *varṇa* are of the same *jāti*, fit to extend the lineage. Y 1.90

"Sons" stands for offspring generally. "Women of equal *varṇa*" are married women of the same *varṇa*, because of the final formula "this rule applies to married women of the same *varṇa*."[2]. That means that offspring born to women wedded in legitimate marriages, being "of the same *jāti*," i.e., being of the same *jāti* as their mother and father, have the status of Brahmins, and so forth. Note that the term "varṇa" is used here conventionally for the four *jātis* of Brahmin etc.[3]

Because of the phrase "of equal *varṇa*," the offspring of parents of unequal *varṇa*, such as Mūrdhāvasiktas,[4] are not a class. In addition, Yājñavalkya says "married women,"[5] to prevent Kuṇḍas, Golakas,[6] and

[2] Y 1.92d
[3] Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa says that certain offspring of parents of differing *varṇa*s (*asavarṇa*) such as the secret Mūrdhāvasikta and the "illegitimate" offspring of parents of the same *varṇa* (*savarṇa*), are *na varṇatva*, i.e., have "no *varṇa*." He seems to mean by this that they have an irregular *varṇa* status. He sometimes appears to use *jāti* as a synonym for *varṇa* (e.g., Kṣatriya by *jāti*, see note 27) and more often patrilineally speaks of the *jāti* of the mother and the *varṇa* of the father. There is incongruity between *varṇas* as ideal classes and *jātis* as actual castes, especially the impure mixed ones. The problem was to classify the messy complexities of caste and reproduction within the abstract schema of *varṇasankara*. Its schematics leaves considerable room to adjust *varṇa* status to real socio-economic position.

others, although born of parents of equal *varṇa*, from having *varṇa* status. As a result, offspring of unmarried women[7]—Kuṇḍas, Golakas, Kānīnas, Sahoḍhas, Paunarbhavas, and Kṣetrajas[8]—are not a class. The phrase "of the same *jāti*"[9] indicates off-spring of the same *jāti* as that of both their fathers and mothers, and that is missing with these. Hence, nothing prevents them from being labeled as of the same *jāti* as that of their mothers, because, even then, the label that they are of the same *jāti* as both parents does not apply to them.

That is why Devala says:

> One born of a Brahmin by a Brāhmanī is a full-fledged (*saṁskṛta*) Brahmin;
> 4 the same is true for Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas, and Śūdras
> born from fathers of their *varṇa* to women of the same *varṇa*. D 1.295.[10]

If that means "born from a father and mother of the same *varṇa*,"[11] then "full-fledged" means "worthy of undergoing the proper rites of passage," i.e. a prime Brahmin.

If the preceding is true, the question is how is it possible that Nārada, Vasiṣṭha, Viśvāmitra and others, who were not born from wombs, were Brahmins? They were, indeed, not born to wedded women of the same *varṇa*.

There is no such problem here, since this text does not actually say that they are Brahmins and so forth.[12] This would lead to sentence splitting and make the definition too narrow.[13] The only thing the text says is that they are of the same *jāti* as that of their mother and father.

Nor does it create any incompatibility.[14] Indeed, in the case of sons not born from wombs, the fact of being of the same caste as their fathers and mothers is not based on anything else. Whereas their being Brahmins, is a new and extraordinary attribute due to the grace of god, like a golden jar being a pot.[15]

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[4] The *anuloma* union of a Brāhmaṇa with a Kṣatriya woman, of problematic status when clandestine. Kane (1941) II. pt. 1. 91. See Ludo Rocher, "Notes on Mixed Castes in Classical India," *ALB* 44-45 (1981): 132-46; and Horst Bronkhaus, *Die Altindischen Mischkastensysteme* (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1978).
[5] Y 1.92d.
[6] Two types of sons are born of someone else's wife: *kuṇḍa* and *golaka*. If her husband is alive, he is *kuṇḍa*, the "son of an adulteress"; and if her husband is dead, he is *golaka*, the "son of a widow." "These two, born in another's "field," make the divine or ancestral offering given to them futile to the donor both here and hereafter." M 3174-5. Olivelle (2005): 117. Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa's problem is how to categorize them, since they fall into the cracks between *varṇa*s. They are descended from a Brahmin father, but their illegitimacy may place them among Śūdras, Brahmanically speaking, while socially they are regarded as above Śūdras.
[7] More precisely, women not married to the father of the child.
[8] These are respectively the son of an unmarried girl, the son of a remarried widow, the son of a woman pregnant with another man's child at marriage, and the son fathered by a stand-in for the husband (*niyoga*).
[9] In the quote above from Y 1.90.
[10] M. L. Wadekar, *Devalasmṛti Reconstruction and Critical Study* (Delhi: Koshal Book Depot, 1996), vol. 1, 31.
[11] The text may be defective . Rocher suggests the emendation: *svebhaḥ svayonijāḥ savarṇebhyaḥ savarṇotpannā ityarthaḥ*.
[12] I.e., Devala does not say that they are Brahmins, etc., but that they are worthy to undergo the rites that will make them full-fledged Brahmins.
[13] *avyāpti*.

In summary, a special invisible quality is effected by the six duties of Brahmins, but it is not part of its manifestation, because of the extrasensory nature of the invisible. For that reason the concluding phrase, "This rule applies to married women," too is valid. It means that the injunction applies to married women only.

In reality, however, even in the case of a son born out of wedlock, there is no proof that he is of the same *jāti* as his mother. *Smṛti* texts on levirate make the newborn a son, but they do not assign him a *jāti*. I will discuss how even being a son does not apply here to him.[16]

Also, to say that, in the case of a levirate marriage, the field is more important than the owner is not agreeable, in view of the rule laid down by Manu:

> When a seed, carried by flood or wind, sprouts in someone else's field,
> it belongs solely to the owner of the field; the sower does not reap its fruit.[17]
> M 9.54

Because of the text:

> People are in disagreement, some saying, "a son belongs to the husband
> of the woman;" and others, "the son belongs to the man who fathered him."[18]
> V 17.6

and because he is independent, the owner of the field alone can be the more important element.

Moreover, if Dhṛtarāṣṭra, Pāṇḍu, and Vidura[19] were not Kṣatriyas, they could not perform the dharma of the Kṣatriyas, according to statements by Śaṅkha and Viṣṇu on the overruling in their case of the dharma of levirate offspring because of *śruti* texts referring particularly to the married state of the woman and so on.

But those born of infidelity have the dharma only of Śūdra, according to the restrictive text:

> But tradition regards all the "delinquent-born" as having the
> same dharma as Śūdras.[20] M 10.41

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[14] I.e., the fact that beings not born from a womb are called Brahmins is not incompatible with the texts that require a Brahmin to be born from a Brahmin father.

[15] Literally, Brahmanness in them is like the potness in a golden jar. The metaphor is not entirely perspicuous as phrased, but the general point is clear: if Nārada, Vasiṣṭha, Viśvāmitra and other seers were Brahmins, this was by divine grace alone, since they were not born of a womb. Vasiṣṭha and Agastya were conceived in a pot from the seed of Mitra and Varuṇa. They are special cases like a golden jar among pots and do not contravene the point being made that full Brahmanness is inherited from two Brahmin parents.

[16] Levirate or, more accurately, *niyoga* marriage is not discussed elsewhere. Questions of the *varṇa* of illegitimate sons and famous sages who were "supernaturally" born are only treated in this section.

[17] Olivelle *Manu* (2005): 192. The text gives only the *pratīka*.

[18] Olivelle, *Dharmasūtras* (2000): 417.

[19] Vidura, the stepbrother of Dhṛtarāṣṭra and Pāṇḍu, was the son of a Śūdra maidservant, but he performed the dharma of a Kṣatriya, again illustrating what Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa is arguing here: the preponderance of paternal *varṇa* over maternal *jāti* and the revelation of true *varṇa* character.

[20] The first half of the verse, which accounts for the opposition in the second half, reads: " The six types of son born to women belonging to one's own or the class immediately below have characteristics of a twice-born." Olivelle *Manu* (2005): 210.

On the other hand, we consider it proper that Mūrdhāvasiktas and others be recognized as Kṣatriyas even though this is based solely on the fact that they perform their dharma.

Furthermore, Devala labels these as not being of the same *varṇa*:

> If a son is born to a another man by a woman of the same *varṇa*,
> he is called *āroṭa;* he has the dharma of a Śūdra *jāti*.
> If sons are born by a man, even to women of the same *varṇa*,
> they are called Vrātyas, deprived of making vows, prevented
> from performing *saṁskāras*, and excluded.

6 "Excluded" means living outside *varṇa*. Baudhāyana, in turn, says this:

> The sages distinguish eight forms of marriage.
> Those born from women married in these are of the same *jāti*,
> no others.[21]

Similarly, Vyāsa:

> The sons of a lawful wife are of the same *jāti*,
> they are excluded otherwise.[22]

And Manu:

> Tradition regards all the "delinquent-born" as having the
> same dharma as Śūdras. M 10.41

"Delinquent-born" means born against the rules. Manu says this quite clearly:

> The sons of twice-born men with wives of the *varṇa* immediately below
> are considered only (*eva*) similar and disdained due to their mother's defect.[23]
> M 10.6

These sons are "disdained" due to the defect that their mothers belong to the same *varṇa* as their father's. Since they have been lowered vis-à-vis their father's *varṇa*. and are considered only similar to the mother, not to those sons born of their fathers' main wives.[24] Note that the similarity extends only to those sons obtaining the same dharma as their mothers'. The word "only" shows that the texts of Śaṅkha and others makes the sons acquire their mothers' dharma, not their *jāti*s.

Similarly, the same sage also says this:

> The sons of twice-born men by women of the class immediately below
> their own, which have been enumerated in their proper order, are given
> the name of the next lower class because of their mother's defect.[25] M 10.14

[21] Not found in the *Baudhāyanadharmasūtra*.
[22] This verse, like most of those Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa attributes to Vyāsa, is not in the *Vyāsa Saṁhitā*. Unsurprisingly, since he elsewhere quotes Vyāsa as the legendary author of the *Mahābhārata* (41) and *Brahma Sūtra* (51).
[23] Olivelle *Manu* (2005): 208.
[24] I.e., the fathers' wives of the same caste as his.
[25] This is Rocher's translation, differing from Olivelle's (2005), who tries to harmonize M 10.14 with 10.6 quoted just above.

He means that they get the name only, Kṣatriya etc., not that they are Kṣatriyas etc., by *jāti*.[26]

Similarly, in the *Viśvambharaśāstra*[27] also it is said that such sons are only equal to the caste of their mothers:

> A Mūrdhāvasikta, born from a Brahmin father
> with a Kṣatriya mother, is equal to Kṣatriyas.[28]

7 Aparārka's overall conclusion on this is as follows: "The word 'married' implies[29] that the sons of a young girl as well as the sons of a remarried widow are full-fledged classes. Similarly, according to a text of Śaṅkha, the Mūrdhāvasikta and the like have the same *jāti* as their mothers, and they, too, are a class." [30]

On the contrary, according to Śaṅkhadhara,[31] since all delinquent-born sons, such as the Kuṇḍa and Golaka, are Brahmins, they are all entitled to the rites of initiation, Vedic education etc. He, therefore, uses phrases such as "not so, say others," and "or alternatively, others say." And these are set alternatives.[32] The children of a woman tainted by repeated lapses are outcaste; therefore, they are not entitled to rites of passage. But the children of a woman who has stumbled only once, forcibly enjoyed against her will by another man, are not tainted, and, therefore, are entitled to rites of passage.[33]

This is all incompatible with the *Yamasmṛiti*, where the following is said:

> Sons born out of wedlock to women of the same class are called Kuṇḍa,
> if the husband is living, and Golaka, if dead. Both are of low *jāti*.
> The sons of twice-born men by women of a different *varṇa*,
> who are married to other men, are called *kuṇḍagolaka*.
> They are said to be of their mothers' caste, not their fathers'
> Their sons cannot marry relatives on their fathers' and mothers' side.[34]

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[26] Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa calls Kṣatriya a *jāti* here.
[27] Kane I: 1106, mentioned in *Śūdrakamalākara*.
[28] Reading *kṣatrāyām* for *kṣatriyāyām metri causā*.
[29] It is an *upalakṣana*.
[30] For Aparārka, the Kānīna, Paunarbhavana, and Mūrdhāvasikta have *varṇatva*, the opposite of Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa's interpretation of Yājñavalkya earlier (SAS 3). Normally, when a *nibandha* author quotes a word from a commentary on a *smṛti*, he has previously quoted the entire verse. This is not the case here. Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa quotes only one word— *vinna,* "married." There may be a gap in the text, or Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa is being characteristically elliptic. The full passage is found in Aparārka's *Commentary on Yājñavalkya*, *Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series* 46 (Poona, 1903): pt 1, 117-118.
[31] Texts quoting Śaṅkhadhara are listed by Kane (1:1230). Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa should now be added.
[32] *Vyavasthitavikalpa*, a "fixed option."
[33] According to Manu III. 174, a Kuṇḍa is the offspring of an adulterous relation between a married Brāhmaṇa woman whose husband is living and a Brāhmaṇa man. A Golaka is the secret offspring of a Brāhmaṇa widow and Brāhmaṇa man. Kane II. 78, 80. Although illegitimate, they are conceded *upanayana*.
[34] Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa cites many minor *smṛti*s such as *Yama*. But the verses above on Kuṇḍa and Golaka, as is often the case, are not in the text we have. The *Yamasmṛti* is in a collection of 27 texts, *Dharmasmṛtisaṁgraha*, *Anandāśrama Sanskrit Series* 48 (Bombay, 1883).

The author of the *Mitākṣarā*, Medhātithi, and others are in agreement on this.

8 Consequently, Yama prescribes that the penance for killing a Kuṇḍa and the like is the same as that for killing a son born against the order of *varṇa*s, as follows:

> For killing a son born of a woman of a different class,
> he shall perform a *sāṁtapana kṛcchra*;[35]
> for killing a Sūta, a Kuṇḍa, or a Golaka, a *kṛcchra*.

The *Smṛtikaumudī* makes a distinction here. It denies rites of passage such as initiation to Kuṇḍas and Golakas only if they are fathered by non-Brahmins, not, however, when they are the offspring of a Brahmin by a Brahmin woman. Indeed, in accordance with the *smṛti*:

> Kuṇḍa or Golaka Brahmins, who only know how to perform the morning
> and twilight prayers,[36] should recite and pray to the gods when bathing, eating,
> and at twilight, joining the others after taking their meal separately in a garden,[37]

Kuṇḍa or Golaka sons born of Brahmin parents[38] are allowed to undergo initiation, and so forth, on the pretext of performing such acts as morning and evening worship.

The *Mitākṣarā* quotes another *smṛti* text with the words:

> Both Kuṇḍas and Golakas may be consecrated with the rites of passage,
> as they deserve.

Taking his place in a temple, on occasions such as the bathing of the god, he should recite the texts like a bard.[39] The phrase saying that he should stay in a "separate garden." i.e. a hut, forbids him to reside in town to prevent mixing with other castes. But enough of this prolixity. Let us return to our subject.

The main classes, born of parents of the same *varṇa*, have been explained. Details of their duties, common and particular, will be discussed later.

Yājñavalkya defines the *anulomas* as follows:

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[35] A *sāṁtapana kṛcchra* is a penance lasting two to seven days with the consumption of sour milk, ghee, and kuśa grass and recitation of the Gāyatrī. Wilhelm Gampert, *Die Sünezeremonien in der Altindischen Rechtslitersature* (Prague: Orientalisches Institut, 1939), 48-49.

[36] *Sandhyopāsana* or *sandhyāvandana*, "morning and evening prayer," consists of *ācamana* (sipping water), *prāṇāyāma* (restraint of breath), *arghya* (offering water to the sun), *marjana* (sprinkling oneself three times with water while chanting certain mantras, *japa* of Gāyatrī, and *upasthāna*, reciting mantras to the sun in the morning and Varuṇa at twilight. The sticking point for KS, as far as Śūdras were concerned, was the Vedic mantras.

[37] There seems to be a contradiction or just a looseness of expression here between the prescription of eating first and then in eating in solitude.

[38] The text is ambiguous: it could be a Brahmin father or Brahmin parents. Rocher opted for the latter because the verse is introduced as applying to a Brahmin man with a Brahmin woman.

[39] He recites *varṇaka*s, perhaps "sections of text," "syllables," or " verses."

9 The son born to a Brahmin by a Kṣatriya woman is a Mūrdhāvasikta,
by a Vaiśya woman, an Ambaṣṭha, by a Śūdra woman, a Niṣāda or Pāraśava.[40]

Y 1.91

Pāraśava is a synonym for Niṣāda. But differently from the Niṣāda, who is of reverse birth and lives as a fisherman, the occupation of the Pāraśava is not polluted. In all these cases, "born to a Brahmin" is syntactically connected with the term "by wedded wives."[41]

Thus, even though Paraśurāma, born to a Brahmin by a Kṣatriya woman, was a Mūrdhāvasikta, either through the intensity of his *tapas* or by the grace of the Lord, he was a Brahmin, with all of a Brahmin's duties, just like Viśvāmitra. In fact, it does not stand to reason that one's paternal origin is nullified because one belongs to a certain *jāti*.[42]

In this way, sons are born to a Brahmin by a woman[43] of the three lower *varṇa*s, in the order of high to low. Devala and other *smṛti*s give them different names, "of the same *varṇa*," and so forth. In such cases, these names are to be seen as alternatives, just as with Niṣāda and Pāraśava.

Next:

To a Kṣatriya by a Vaiśya and a Śūdra woman two sons are born:
a Māhiṣya and an Ugra, respectively; to a Vaiśya by a Śūdra woman, a Karaṇa.
This rule applies only to women married to the father Y 1.92

A Kṣatriya can marry wives of two lower *varṇa*s, in that case begetting two different sons: a Māhiṣya son by a Vaiśya wife and an Ugra son by a Śūdra wife. A Vaiśya can marry one wife of a lower *varṇa*. His only son by a Śūdra wife is called a Karaṇa. Note that all these different kinds of son, starting from sons of the same caste, Mūrdhāvasiktas and so on, require that they be born to the legitimate wives of their fathers; they do not apply to any other kind of son. All this has already been detailed earlier.

10 Thus, the *anuloma* (regular) sons born in descending order are six in number. So says Manu:

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[40] The *Mitakṣarā* on Y. 1.91 and *Medhātithi* on Manu 10.8 distinguish this Niṣāda from another of *pratiloma* birth who lives by fishing.

[41] Y.1.92d.

[42] The sentence means that it is not reasonable to think that one's *utpannatva*, "the fact of being conceived," 'the paternal connection,' would be annulled by the mother being of a different class and, therefore, placing one in a specific *jāti*. Paraśurāma, Mūrdhāvasikta son of the seer, Jamadagni, and sixth *avatara* of Viṣṇu, illustrates Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa's view that the *varṇa* character of the father can overrule the mother's *jātidharma*. This is in line with his pliable stance on how *varṇa* is displayed. Character will out and is demonstrated and achieved by karmic action. Paraśurāma's paternal *brāhmaṇatva* is manifested through his *tapas* and annihilation of the Kṣatriyas, although his mother, Renuka, is Kṣatriya. Similarly, the great Ṛṣi, Viśvamitra, was born a Kṣatriya, but transformed himself into a Brāhmaṇa. Vettam Mani, *Purāṇic Encyclopedia* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1975), 568-572, 872-876.

[43] Rocher proposes emending *brāhmaṇāderavarāsu* to *brāhmaṇādavarāsu* since Y 1.91 deals only with the *anuloma* offspring of Brahmins. Other classes are treated in Y 1.92.

To a Brahmin, by wives of three castes; to a Kṣatriya, by two;
to a Vaiśya, by one: these six are called lowborn (*apasada*). M 10.10

"By three" means by wives of the Kṣatriya, Vaiśya, and Śūdra *varṇa*s. "By two" means by wives of the Vaiśya and Śūdra *varṇa*s. "By one" means by a wife of the Śūdra *varṇa*. They are called "lowborn" (*apasada*), because they are "dragged down" (*apakṛṣta*), from their place (*sadas*). That means that they have been degraded from the main *varṇa*s.[44]

Yogī also tells us the *pratiloma* (reverse order) sons:

The son of a Kṣatriya by a Brahmin woman is called a Sūta;
by a Vaiśya, a Vaidehaka; by a Śūdra, a Caṇḍāla, who is outside all observances.
A Kṣatriya woman bears to a Vaiśya a Māgadha son, to a Śūdra, a Kṣattā.
A Vaiśya woman bears to a Śūdra an Āyogava son. Y 1.93-94

The sons fathered on a Brahmin wife by a Kṣatriya, Vaiśya, and Śūdra are, respectively, the Sūta, Vaidehaka, and Caṇḍāla. Likewise, the son fathered by a Vaiśya on a Kṣatriya wife is a Māgadha, and on a Śūdra wife, a Kṣattā. The son fathered on a Vaiśya wife by a Śūdra is an Āyogava. These are the six reverse sons. Therefore, the regular and reverse order sons combined are twelve

Devala says of the graded ranking of regular and reverse order sons:

11 The sons of *savarṇa* (same *varṇa*) parents are best; best after them are *anuloma* sons.
Pratiloma sons are in-between, degraded, and out of order.

This is saying that the sons of parents of the same *varṇa* are the best of all. Others are intermediary, i.e., born to a mother and father of different *varṇa*. Because of the division into regular and irregular, they are of two kinds. The first are slightly inferior to their father because begot in a low womb by a higher *varṇa* father and because they have the same dharma as the mother. The second have fallen out-of-*varṇa* and are the lowest because they were begotten on a wife of higher *varṇa* by degraded seed. They are said to be "fallen" because they have lost the complete cycle of sacra mental rites. Manu argues the very same thing by a question and answer:

If we ask, who is better, the accidental son of a Brahmin man
and a non-Ārya woman or the son of a non-Ārya man and a Brahmin woman?
The answer is the son of an Ārya man and a non-Ārya woman becomes an Ārya by his character,
but the son of a non-Ārya man and an Ārya woman is non-Ārya.
Neither should receive the rites of passage—this is the settled law—
the former because of his inferior birth, the latter because he was born against the *varṇa* order.

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[44] This is a typical example of traditional etymology and difficult to render in English. *Apasada* is analyzed into two elements: *apa* indicating "downward motion," and *sadas*, based on the verbal root *sad*, "to sit down."

M 10.66-68

A "non-Ārya" means one of a lower *jāti*; an "Ārya" is one of a higher *jāti*.[45] "Accidentally" has the sense of unintentionally. "Neither one " means one born of the seed of a higher *jāti* father by a woman of a lower *jāti*, or one born of the seed of a lower *jāti* father by a higher *jāti* mother. The reason for this is that "they lack the required qualifications." "Because of his birth" means because of the womb from which he is born. The negation in "neither should receive the rites of passage" has the force of slightly or a little, meaning that they should receive the rites of passage to a
12 lesser degree than the top castes.[46] This is so, because Śaṅkha extends the dharma of the mother to those born in the regular order, whereas Manu teaches that those born in the reverse order have the dharma of Śūdras. Indeed, he says:

> The six kinds of son born of one's own caste and the next down have the dharma
> of the twice-born; but all those called "delinquently-born"[47] have the dharma of Śūdras.
>
> M 10.41

On the other hand, the same sage tells us that the full cycle of rites of passage applies only to the main *varṇa*s:

> Just as good seed planted in a good field thrives,
> so the son of an Ārya father and mother deserves all the rites. M 10.69

Note that among these only Brahmins are entitled to all six rites, according to a text of Manu:

> Brahmins, whose mothers are of the same class[48] and are steadfast
> in their proper activity, rightly perform the six acts in due order.

We will elaborate further on how the three other *varṇa*s have only three acts, namely, sacrificial worship, learning the Vedas, and charitable giving.[49]

It has been said:

> The dharma of *anuloma*s is the same as that of their mothers only.[50]

Also:

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[45] Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa takes *ārya* and non-*ārya*, like *uttama* and *apakṛṣṭa*, to be relative terms , not absolute as does Manu when he defines *anuloma* and *pratiloma* sons.

[46] ईषदर्थे ॥ Pāṇ. 6.3.105.

[47] *apadhvaṁsajāḥ*

[48] *svayonisthā*

[49] Only Brahmins live by *yajana*, *adhyayana*, and *dāna*, and also their counterparts *yājana*, *adhyāpana*, and *pratigraha*.

[50] *Cf.* VS 16.2: *anulomāsu mātṛvarṇāḥ*. "Sons begotten on women of lower caste have the maternal *varṇa*." The ensuing discussion is to show that the mother's *dharma* sticks only to *anuloma*, not legitimate *savarṇa* offspring.

> Those, who marked[51] by their mother's *jāti* procreate children with women
> of their own class; beget children similar to themselves, with the same dharma.[52]

Since the term "by their mother's *jāti*"[53] cannot be a means of procreating children. Therefore, the instrumental case ending indicates implication.[54] Even as words such as "crow" imply others things beyond "crowness," the very fact that "*jāti*" implies more than it says means that its demarcating genus[55] is different from the individual (*vyakti*), even if he belongs to it merely by practicing the dharma that his *jāti* practices. Indeed, as we already said above, a Mūrdhāvasikta,
13 for instance, is not really a Kṣatriya, and so forth

[Question] Since a crow and the like are sometimes perceived as linked to its habitation and so forth, they are considered as *upalakṣaṇa*s.[56] But why is it that one never sees the Mūrdhāvasikta and people like that as Kṣatriyas?

[Answer] Yes. Yet, even though we do not see Mūrdhāvasiktas as inherently related to Kṣatriyas, we do, nevertheless, see them as linked to them because they are intimately related to their parents. For something to imply secondarily something else, a close relation or direct link is not essential. Indeed, such is not the case for a crow in a tree linked with its habitation.

In conclusion, the meaning of the sentence quoted above is clear. Those who are marked by their mother's *jāti* may have the same dharma as their mother's, but if they father children on women of their own *jāti*, the offspring is of the same *jāti* as their own. Thus, the son of a Mūrdhāvasikta man by a Mūrdhāvasikta wife has the dharma of a Mūrdhāvasikta. The same is also generally true for the Māhiṣya and other *anulomas*. That means that the sons a lower man fathers on women of a higher *jāti* than his own are also like him, i.e. of a lower *jāti*.[57] On the other hand, the

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[51] *upalakṣita.* This may be a gloss, since the commentary may make sense when read without it.
[52] It is unclear whether this is a quote or commentary It looks to be a quote, because a commentary on the term "māturjātyā" follows in the next sentence.
[53] *māturjātyā*
[54] An *upalakṣaṇa*, a word that intends to say more than it actually does. The commentary justifies the insertion of the term "upalakṣitāḥ" in the quotation: Why can one not just say: ये च माततुजात्या स्वयोनिषु प्रसूयन्ते ? Answer: because the term "māturjātyā" does not have the ordinary meaning of the instrumental. They do not procreate by means of their mother's *jāti*. They are only marked, implied, encompassed by her *jāti*. For Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa, paternal *varṇa* is the essential *dharma*, the genus of legitimate and *savarṇa* offspring, maternal *jāti* only marks it with secondary associations. The word "crow" may call up all kinds of associations: its nest in a tree, eating rubbish, etc.; but these have nothing to do with what delimits "crow," namely, its "crowness." In the same way, the term "māturjātyā" may associate the Mūrdhāvasikta with the Kṣatriya *varṇa* of the mother—he practices its dharma, but the demarcating genus or delimitator, *kṣatriyatva*, does not apply to him. It is characteristic of *dharmaśāstrīs* to make the point grammatically.
[55] *vyavacchedakatvam*
[56] "Crow and the like" must be standard *exempla* for *upalakṣaṇa*s.
[57] This sentence seems to be commenting on a non-quoted verse.

illegitimate son of a Mūrdhāvasikta man with a Mūrdhāvasikta woman to whom he is not married is delinquently born, and, as such, has only the dharma of Śūdras. And the same is true for others born to *pratiloma* parents.

Manu says:

> The "low-born among the twice-born, and those traditionally called "delinquent-born,"
> should live by the work the twice-born themselves scorn.
>
> M 10.46

That is to say, by service to the twice-born, but not by sacrificial worship and the like, because of

14 the text that states that "they have the same dharma as Śūdras."

The Dharma of Regular and Reverse Order Castes

On this subject Uśanas says:

> A Mūrdhāvasikta is born from the union of a Kṣatriya female and a Brahmin male.
> He is regarded as a Kṣatriya, but of a higher status.
> He performs the rites of the Atharva Veda, both obligatory and occasional.
> He rides a horse, a chariot, or an elephant at the king's bidding.
> He makes his living in the military or by practicing medicine.
> The secret son of a ruling class lady and a Brahmin is a physician;
> however, when he promotes and honors the authority
> of a consecrated sovereign, he is a Vandaka.
> He practices Ayurvedic medicine in its eight parts.
> His occupations are astrology, calculating, and physic.
> A Gūḍhajataka is the illicit and accidentally conceived son of a male
> and female of noble status. He is also Kṣatriya, but forbidden consecration.
> The legitimate son of a Śūdra female and a Brahmin male is called an Ambaṣṭha.
> He makes a living by farming and is also called an Āgneyanartaka.
> His livelihood is the medical treatment of men, horses, and animals.

This progeny, although of Brahmin seed, is dragged down by the inferior caste of the mother, and according to textual warrant, obtains only the same *jāti* as the mother and Vaiśya duties, not the best dharma of Brahmins, i.e. the six duties. And so, the statement by Vāsisthāyana that "he is

15 higher than the other Vaiśya *jātis*" should be disregarded as fundamentally in error.

The son of a Vaiśya female and a Kṣatriya male is a Māhiṣya and a regular union.

> Engaged in the eight qualifications, knowledgeable in the 64 *aṅgas*,
> he has all the rites including initiation.
> Astrology, divination, and prognostication by sound are his livelihoods.

In the *Viṣvambhara Śāstra* we are told:

An Ugra (Śūdra mother, Kṣatriya father) makes a living by the arts of war.
Skilled with the sword and bow, he is expert in combat.
He stands apart among men as the mighty “Rajput.”[58]
The son of a Śūdra female and a Vaiśya male is a Karaṇa, a scribe. .

These are the offspring of regular unions(*anuloma*).

The son of a Brahmin woman and a Kṣatriya is the Sūta,
a mahout; taming horses is his main occupation.

The marriages of ruling class men and Brahmin girls results in a Sūta, twice-born but reverse.

He is unfit for trade; his job is to remind a ruler of his duties.
The son of a Brahmin female and a Vaiśya male is a Vaidehaka.
His chief occupation is the craft of stone and wood.

He is commonly known as a “Sūtradhāra,” a mason.

16 The so-called Caṇḍāla is the son of a Brahmin female and a Śūdra male.
He always subsists on the rags and personal items of condemned thieves.
He wears lead or iron ornaments, with a leather strap around his neck
or cymbals on his hip. He removes waste from the village
during the morning, not entering during the rest of the day,
and lives on the southwest outskirts of the village.
If they do not ball together here, they are to be punished severally..

Manu says:

They must roam about in villages and towns at night.
They may go around during the day to perform their duties
with distinguishing marks by royal order.
They should execute the condemned always in the authorized way
at the king’s command, and may take their clothes, beds, and ornaments.

M 10.54cd,55ab, 56

In another *smṛti*:

When they go into town during the day to carry out their responsibilities,
uttering “*simbola*,” crouching and cowering fearfully.[59]

The son of a Vaiśya male and a Kṣatriya female is a Māgadha.
He lives as a bard, a storyteller, and royal praise singer.

Another text states:

A Kṣatriya female gives birth to a Māgadha son by a Vaiśya.
He is called a Bandijana and is excluded from the tie of vows.
17 He is somewhat higher than a Śūdra and makes a living
as an expert in the six languages of poetry, rhetoric, and prose,

[58] “The Rajpoots of Bombay are said to perform “the *karm* of Sudras.” “They are of various tribes in the Dekhan.” M. A. Sherring, *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, first published 1879 (Delhi: Cosmo Publications, 1974), II: 180.
[59] One takes *simbola* to be a term of respect for a Lord or master like *sahib*, but we just do not know. Perhaps a variant of *bhoḥ*. So far, it has not been identified with any word in a Prakrit or modern Indian language. It may be of tribal origin, as were many Śūdras.

for praising rulers in prose and verse writings.

The son of a Vaiśya man and a Kṣatriya woman is a Kṣattā,
and should be an attendant or doorkeeper.

The son of a Śūdra male and a Vaiśya female is an Āyogava, a doorkeeper.

But in Uśanas:

Some of them are weavers who make cloth for a living.

These are the reverse order dharmas.

Mixed Castes to the Second Degree

Vaiśvambhara says:

Those of mixed marriages are impure and disordered in *varṇa*.
A living is made only from the work of the *jāti* and depends on *jāti* alone.
The son of a Brahmin without the sacraments and a Brahmin woman
is called a Ṛjukaṇṭha.

And Manu says of the Vrātya:

Sons born to the twice-born by wives of their own *varṇa*
who do not observe the sacraments
should be designated Vrātyas, the broken-vowed. M 10.20[60]

The son born to a Ṛjukaṇṭha by a Brahmin wife is an Āvartaka.
The son of an Āvartaka and a Brahmin's wife is a Kaṭadhāna.
The son of a Kaṭadhāna man and a Brahmin woman is a Puṣpaśekhara.
18 The Ṛjukaṇṭha, Āvartaka, Kaṭadhāna, and Puṣpaśekhara
make their living from the worship of Viṣṇu with dancing, singing, telling
stories, and playing musical instruments like the conch and *vinā*.

And elsewhere:

They should make their living by extolling Hari and Hara with musical
and verse compositions in the appropriate dialects of the country.
The common customs of the people are laid down by them,
for Śūdra conduct is nowhere else.
The son of a Brahmin and a woman called a Puṣpaśekhara,
is a Bhojaka by *jāti* and makes a living from worship services for Sūrya.
The son of a Brahmin and a Bhojaka woman is regarded as a Devalaka.
His livelihood is by worship of Viṣṇu.[61]

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[60] Verse 10.20 in current editions of Manu is a bit different, adding that Vrātyas "have fallen from the Sāvitrī." The following verses list the offspring of Vrātya Brahmins, Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas, but the terms are quite unlike those in the SAS or vaguely similar. Instead of Ṛjukaṇṭha, Manu has Bhṛjjakaṇṭhaka and Āvantya Vāṭadhāna and Puṣpadha in stead of Āvartaka, Kaṭadhāna, and Puṣpaśekhara. Olivelle remarks that this entire second discourse (10.16-23)is suspect and appears to be an attempt to account for ethnic groups and tribals as mixed castes. *Law Code of Manu*, 283.

[61] The reading is not sure here: *jātyeka* or *jātyeva śāśvato jñeyo viṣṇupūjanajīvika*.

The son of a Māhiṣya woman and a Brahmin is an Ābhīra, a milk-seller.
An Udavāha is the illegitimate son of a Brahmin and a Vaideha woman.
He carries parasols and traffics in women.

A Vaideha woman is the daughter of a Vaiśya man and a Brahmin woman.

The son of a Brahmin and a Niṣāda woman is a Vaiṣṭika, a porter.
A Niṣāda, the son of a Brahmin and a Śūdra woman, is commonly known as a Kahāṁra.[62]
The son of a Brahmin and a Māgadha woman is a prison guard.

People call him "jailor." A Māgadha woman is the daughter of a Kṣatriya woman and a Vaiśya man.

19 The son of an Ambaṣṭha woman and a Brahmin is a coppersmith.

An Ambaṣṭha is the son of a Brahmin and a Vaiśya woman.

But elsewhere:

He should manufacture different kinds of copperware for his livelihood.
He should behave like a Śūdra at all times.

He is colloquially known as a Kāmsāra.

The son of an Ugra woman and a Brahmin is called a Kumbhakāra, a potter.

An Ugra woman is the daughter of a Kṣatriya and a Śūdra woman. Elsewhere:

He is lower than the Śūdra in dharma as a pot is lower than a pot made of clay.[63]

The son of a Kṣatriya without sacraments and a Kṣatriya woman
makes a living by dealing in arms.[64]

In the *Jātiviveka*[65] it is stated:

The son of a Kṣatriya without sacraments
and a Śūdra woman performs the rites for Śūdras.
He trains the sons of Kṣatriyas in the skills of the sword and bow.
Receiving money from them as a livelihood, he should keep his own dharma.

He is colloquially known as a "king's guru."

He unlawfully fathers a Malla son on a Kṣatriya woman.
Supplying sport for kings, he earns a living by fighting.
The son of a Vaiśya father and a Śūdra's wife is called a Vaitālika.
He makes his living by the arts of pleasure, panegyric, and homage.
20 The son of a Kṣatriya and a Pāraśava woman is a Kīnāṭa, a coppersmith.

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[62] A *kaṭṭāra* is a water carrier in Hindi.
[63] "Good" Śūdras, the offspring of Śūdra unions, are dharmically better than mixed *varṇa* issue, here, the Ugra, the offspring of a Kṣatriya male with a Śūdra female. Manu (10.9) says that the Ugra is cruel in his behavior and dealings having the characteristics of both Kṣatriya and Śūdra. The word "*ugra*" simply means fierce, savage, cruel.
[64] The mixed caste sons of Kṣatriyas are often said to take up careers in soldiering, arms manufacture, dealing and training, and in sports (like the Malla below).
[65] There are several works by this title in Kane HD, I.2, index.

He has the name "Tāmbera."[66] A Pāraśava woman is the daughter of a Brahmin and a Śūdra woman.

A keeper of the harem is born from a tradesman and a Brahmin woman.
He manages women's apartments and caters to kings.[67]
He makes a living by the care and feeding of courtesans.
He makes assignations with women know as "ladies for hire."
Only the bon-vivant who has contact at night with these women
who live by their beauty is the lord of their lives.
No one, even a loved one, is their husband.

Tradesmen are the offspring of a Śūdra and a Vaiśya woman.

The son of a Pāraśava woman and a Māhiṣya is called a Mālākāra, a gardener.[68]
A Sūpakāra, a cook, is born from a Sūta and a Vaideha woman.
The son of a Brahmin woman by a Kṣatriya is called a Sūta,
and by a Vaiśya, a Vaideha.
The son of an Āyogava woman and a Vaideha is a Maitreyaka,
a bell ringer at dawn and a singer of hymns.

An Āyogava woman is the daughter of a Śūdra and a Vaiśya woman.

The son of an Ambaṣṭha woman and a Vaideka man is a Harimekhala.
From an Āyogava woman and a Karaṇa man comes a Sairandhra, a perfumer.
His livelihood is selling sweet-scented items such as flowers and sandal.

A Karaṇa is the son of a Vaiśya man and a Śūdra woman.

The son of an Ugra woman and a Pāraśava man is the swift-footed Jāṅghika.

21 They are professional runners colloquially called "Vāri."

The son of an elevated Śaiva Pāśupata, who has been outcasted,
and a Śūdra's wife, is held to be a Bhasmāṅkura.
He makes a living from the worship of Śiva and donations to Śiva.
Wearing dreadlocks and ashes, he should worship the Śiva *liṅga*.
Unhusked betel, money, cattle, fields, gardens, and anything else donated
to Śiva Caṇḍīśa in devotion are his means of living.

The son of an Ugra woman and a Kṣatriya is called a Kṣemaka, a porter.

An Ugra woman is the daughter of a Kṣatriya and a Śūdra woman.

A Kuśīlava is the offspring of an Ambaṣṭha man and a Vaideha woman,
and works as a dancer and performing artist.

A Vaideha woman has a Brahmin father and a Vaiśya mother.

A Nirmaṇḍalaka is the son of an Ābhīra man
and manufactures feathers for arrows and makes arrow with saws for a living.

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[66] Tāmberas were a subcaste of Kaseras, braziers (brass smiths) in Bihar. H. H. Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, *Ethnographic Glossary*, (Calcutta, 1892), II. 291.
[67] Conjectural reading of *udara* (belly): *rājñāmudarapuṣṭhaye*.
[68] Mālis were a caste of domestic and market gardeners widely spread except in the south. Hutton, *Caste*, 285.

The son of an Ugra woman and a Māgadha is a Kuntala, a barber.
He is called "Nāpita," and is deft with a razor.

An Ugra has a Kṣatriya father and a Śūdra mother, a Māgadha a Kṣatriya mother and a Vaiśya father.

He cuts beards and is adroit at paring nails.
He serves all the *varṇa*s by doing this kind of work in town.
A Nāpita barber is a low and dishonest man, but is regarded
as higher than Śūdras.[69]

22 Manu says:

The son begot on a Śūdra girl is a Brahmin but without the sacraments
he is called a Nāpita and is also better than Śūdras.

The word "Nāpita" is explained in the *Uśanas Smṛti* in this way:

There is shaving on the occasions of birth, death, or initiation.
The shaving is above the navel (*nābhi*); hence, he is called a Nāpita.

Yājñavalkya says:

A Rathakāra is begotten by a Māhiṣya on a Karaṇa wife. Y 1.25

He lives as an artisan knowledgeable in all the śilpa śāstras.[70]

He may perform all the sacraments such as initiation because there is a text to that effect. Indeed, Śaṅkha says that "the Rathakāra is the secondary mixing of a Kṣatriya and a Vaiśya, i.e., the son of a Māhiṣya father and a Karaṇa mother;[71] he is entitled to have *upanayana* performed, to offer sacrifices and gifts; and he make a living by learning how to tame horses, drive chariots, and construct buildings."

The *Mitākṣarā* quotes this passage and comments:

Similarly, when a Mūrdhāvasikta and a Māhiṣya intermarry and have children,
since they are the offspring of a Brahmin and Kṣatriya respectively, the rites of
passage such as initiation apply to them, because of their twice-born status.

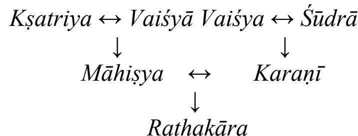
In the *Jātiviveka*:

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[69] A good example of the flexibility of *varṇasankara* to register real social status. The barber caste in Bengal had high status in Bengal. Some amassed wealth, practiced as physicians, and regarded themselves as "clean" Śūdras. Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal,* 124-29.

[70] This sentence is not in the *Yājñavalkyasmṛti*.

[71] This shows again the anomalous *varṇa* status of Rathakāras: they are mixed caste and partly Śūdra, but have *upanayana*.



The son that a Māhiṣya woman bears to a Vaideha man
is called a Kāyastha; his work is laid down as follows.

A Māhiṣya woman is born to a Kṣatriya father and a Vaideha mother. A Vaideha is born to a Brahmin woman and a Vaiśya father.

23 A Kāyastha should practice the occupations of writing the scripts of different regions,
calculation, algebra, and arithmetic. He is the lowest of the Śūdra *jātis*[72]
and has the five *saṁskāras*: *tāpa, puṇḍra, nāma, mantra*, and *yāga*.
Service to the four *varṇas*, clerical work, business, and craft are stipulated as his
livelihoods. Kāyasthas and others of that class must not wear a *śikhā*, the sacred thread,
garments of saffron cloth, nor touch the images of the gods.[73]
Repetitive prayer, austerities, pilgrimage to holy places, mendicancy, performance of
mantras, and adoration of the gods are the six downfalls for women and Śūdras.

A Śālakya is the son of a Mālakāra father and a Karaṇa mother and is a jewel cutter.

Known as "Maṇihāra" (necklace). In another text, the same man also has the name "Mañju" (topaz).

A Śālmaka is the son of a female Kulāla (potter)
and a Mañju and is a *nāgavalli* dealer.[74]
A Śilīndhra is the son of a Mālakāra and a Kṣatriya woman
and provides personal care services (massage, bathing, shampooing, fragrant oils).
He is excluded from *śūdradharma*s and makes his living by massage.
From a Śilīndhra man and a Kṣatriya woman is born
the so-called Kolhāṭi (juggler, acrobat, itinerant performer).

Colloquially known as a "Bahurūpī" (a street impersonator).[75]

The son of a Vaideha male and a Rūpakārī, (a female performer)
is an Andhasika (cook).

Colloquially known as a "Pācaka (cook)."

The son of a Vaiśya and a Karaṇa female is a Gocārī (cowherd).
24 A Mañju wife with a Kaṭadhāna (a maker of straw baskets and mats) produced a
Chāgalaka, who is commonly known as an "Ajāpāla" or goatherd.

In the *Jātiviveka*:

He is excluded from the Śūdra *jātis*; he should not kill goats;[76]
it is said that his livelihood consists in the money made from his she-goats.

By a Sairandra mother the Kṣemaka begat the Śayyāpāla, a keeper of the bed
chamber.

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[72] *adhama: śūdrajātibhya:*
[73] Possible reading of *ambhasā*: with water.
[74] *Nāgavalli* is a Sanskrit and Telugu name for the twining betel plant
[75] Risley say that the Bahurupias of Bengal were mimics and actors, who took on various characters and disguises and were believed to have been originally low-caste Hindus who converted to Islam. They often appeared as Akbar's decrepit old nurse or as Śiv-Gauri—half Śiva, half Gaurī, in humorous dialogue. *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, I: 45.
[76] Correcting *na vadec ca saḥ* to *na vadhec ca saḥ*.

A Kṣemaka is a Pratihārī (porter).

A Śayyāpāla lives as a skilled manager of the royal bed.
The son of a Karmacaṇḍāla woman and a Puṣpaśekhara
is named a Maṇḍalaka and is a dog-breeder.

The Karmacaṇḍāla, or occupational Caṇḍāla, will be described below.[77]

The Maṇḍalaka is employed by a king to keep dogs.
The son of a Vadinī female and a Śūdra male has the name "Syandolika."[78]
He is outside the four *varṇas* and is a madder dyer.
With this dye he colors and prints garments,
an efficient and skilled artisan.
He is also known as a Śaucika, who works with scissors and needle.

The Niṣada, a forger of metal tools and weapons
begat on a Śūdra female the Kukkuṭa.
He is an producer at all kinds of theatrical shows,
or, because he makes a living from metalworking,
he is at the same level as the lowest castes (*antyaja*s).

The Ulmuka is born to a Māgadha female
and a Kṣatriya male and is a blacksmith.

In another text:

He makes a living as a blacksmith and is best among the *antyaja*s[79]
and lower than the Brahmin, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya, and Śūdra *varṇas*.

The Mauḥkali, an oil miller, is the son of an Ugra and a Pāraśava female.

The Rajaka (washerman) is excluded from *varṇa* and first among the *antyaja*s.
He should wash clothes to make a living.
He is regarded as the son of an Ugra male and a Vaideha female.

An Ugra has a Kṣatriya father and a Śūdra mother; a Vaideha has a Brahmin mother and Vaiśya father.[80]

He mills sesame seed oil, and is the best among the *antyaja*s.
He is ascribed the occupation of *tilaka* because he sells pure sesame oil.
Due to the noise caused by the mill pounding the sesame seed,
the Mauḥkalika should always live outside of town.

A *smṛti* text similarly states:

A sesame or sugar cane press should not be operated
within hearing range by Śūdras or degraded caste persons.

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[77] SAS 27.
[78] If not corrupt, *syandolika* is a *hapaxlegomenon*. Emendation to *dolika* or *olika* makes little or no sense.
[79] Lines 3 and 10 have the unclear expression *uttamaścāntyajātitaḥ*. Line 6 has *pratamaścāntyajeṣu*, "and first among the *antyaja*s." which I take to be synonymous. These castes seems to be on the border between low Śūdra and *antyaja*.
[80] This entry on the Rajaka may also be from the "other text," and inserted here to complete the entry on Ulmuka. Kṛṣṇa now returns to the *Jātiviveka*.

The child which a Rathakāra woman cohabiting
with an Āyogava bears is rated as a "Sūtradhāra."[81]
He is an actor and dancer proficient in the performing arts.[82]
He should always be composing shadow-puppet plays[83]
26 and wondrous and exciting shows.[84] He should live outside of town.

A Kuravinda, the son of a Kukkuṭa female and a Sūta, deals in silk and muslin apparel.
He ought to follow the way of life of the sub-castes.

The son of a Venyā and Āvartaka is a cloth weaver.

A Venyā is an actress.

The son of an Ābhīra female and a Kukkuṭa is a Sauvīra, traditionally known as "Kosaṭa."
He should make clothing for all *jātis* for his living.
The son born in reverse of that (i.e., Ābhīra father, Kukkuṭa mother),
is called a Nīlīkartā, an indigo maker.
The progeny of a Kuntala father and Mañju mother is called a "Barbara."
The son of a Maitra father and Jāṅghika (courier) mother is a Bandhula, a woodland people.
From a Pauṣṭika male a Kaivarta female conceived the Pāṁśūla, a hemp weaver;
and from a Ṛjukaṇṭha a Chāgala female conceived the Aurabhra, a sheep herder;
from a Kṣema male an Ingu female conceived the Āvarta, a camel driver.
from a Malla a Deśika female conceived the Raumika, employed in salt making.
The Dhigvaṇa is born from an Āyogava female and a Brahmin and makes armor;
his job is to supply nice leather saddles.

He is colloquially known by the name "Mocī."

A Kārabolika female bore to a Vaideha male the "Meda"
dwelling in mountain forests and the wild in pursuit of wealth.

Commonly know as "Gohu."

27 An Āyogava female bore to a Pāraśava the Kaivarta;
he is lower than all the *jātis* and always takes up the fishing net.
He should catch fish and other aquatic animals for a living;
he sails a boat on rivers swollen in the rainy season
ferrying people across and collecting fares from them.
The son of a widow and an ascetic is called a Karmacaṇḍāla,
i.e., a Caṇḍāla by virtue of the work he does—as a laborer
who builds wells, tanks, &c., he should be untouchable.
The son of a Niṣāda man and a Śūdra wife is termed the Pukkasa;
He is like the subcastes in various ways
and feeds his body by killing animals that live in the jungle;
his profiting from harm to hawks is criticized by good people.[85]
The son of a Dhigvaṇa female and a Niṣāda male is traditionally a shoemaker.

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[81] *Sūtradhara* is explained etymologically as one who "should constantly produce *sūtra*s," i.e., "lines."
[82] He is a *śailūṣa*, trained in *Nāṭyaśāstra*. n
[83] Nīlakaṇṭha in his commentary on *Śāntiparvan* 12.294.5-6 says that a *jalamaṇḍapikā* is the southern word for shadow puppet theatre wherein the actions of leather figures are cast on a thin cloth. This also, incidentally, provides another example of Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa's *dākṣiṇātya* vocabulary. M. L. Varadpande, *History of Indian Theatr*e (New Delhi: Abhinav Publications, 1987), vol. I: 65.
[84]The edition has *veṣavismayanṛtya*, a curious phrase. A *veṣa* is a house of prostitution or dress and may make better sense if we follow up the reference to *Nāṭyaśāstra* in the previous line and emend it to *dveṣa* (aversion). As *vismaya* (astonishment) is one of the eight *bhava*s, *dveṣa* may be the *bhava* of *krodha* (anger).
[85] The text has the unclear *śyenapārddhikā*. A *śyenapāṭa*, "eagle's flight," is a feat of jugglers according to Monier-Williams, but that seems not to be what going on here.

he is the lower than the subcastes and makes shoes, headgear,
and horse equipage from cow and buffalo hides for a living.

An Ābhīra female and a Veṇa male produce a "Śauṇḍika" son.

In another *smṛti* he also has the name "Śauṣkala." He is declared the "lowest," i.e., excluded from all dharmas.

He gains a living by making and selling liquor.

A Kaivarta female conceives from a Jāṅghika male the Manguṣṭha,
who is considered a Rajaka, washerman.

28 "Rajaka" is merely the general name. His dharmas are discussed elsewhere.[86]

His specialty is baking and powdering chalk lime;
and should unceasingly gain a living by it;
he is at all times untouchable for mankind.

A Kumbhakāra female conceived from a Dhigvaṇa male the Citrakara;
he is outside of *varṇa* and lives as a painter of pictures.

From a Vaiśika male and a Kuruvinda female comes
the Kimśuka, a plasterer and bricklayer;
He is said to be a subcaste, subsisting by bamboo utensils.

From a Karmacandāla a Vaideha female conceived the Pāṇḍusopāka,
the *jāti* of Buruḍas, or basket and mat makers,
always at work splitting bamboo.
The son of a Niṣāda male and a Vaideha female
is the Gāruḍa, best *of ḍinḍima* drummers;
his way of life is traditionally like that of the seven subcastes.
A Dhigvaṇa female bore to an Āyogava male a son designated "Durlabha;"
he makes good utensils and hard saws;
when it comes to mixed *jāti*s,[87] he is the best among the lowest.
A Kaivarta female in union with a Caṇḍāla male bore a son called Saunika.
He slaughters goats and sheep and sells their meat.

Commonly known as a "Khāṭīka."[88]

A Śauṇḍika female got from a Ḍinḍima male the Kināśa, an insect catcher.
The Caṇḍāla outcaste, born to a Brahmin mother and Śūdra father, was described earlier.[89]
29 From a Caṇḍāla a Pukkasa female begot the Śvapāka who cooks at night;[90]
he cooks dog meat and lives on that alone.
The son of a Niṣāḍa female and a Caṇḍāla male scavenges dead horses and donkeys;
under the name Ḍomba, he must dwell in cemeteries living on the dead.[91]

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[86] The Rajaka is only discussed here. Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa perhaps means in another text (*anyatra*).
[87] Less likely, *jātisaṅkare* may be the name of a text.
[88] Khatīks were a caste of butchers, but also vegetable sellers, fruiterers, masons, and rope makers, in Northern India showing how caste splits into subcastes through changes in occupation. J. H. Hutton, *Caste in India*, (OUP, 1951): 34, 51, 101.
[89] SAS 16.
[90] Uncertain reading: *rātrijāpake*. Ludo Rocher emends it to *rātripācakam*, noting that nothing is as often confused in manuscripts as è and aṁ at the end. It is more likely that *śvapāka*s are cooking dogs under cover of night than doing *japa*.
[91] Doms were a caste of scavengers, as here, but later also musicians, weavers, traders, and money-lenders, possibly of aboriginal origin. Hutton, *Caste*, 34-35.

The Mleccha *jātis* originated from Śailandhra males and Meda wives.

Manu says about them:

> But, gradually, by neglecting rites and overstepping Brahmins,
> these Kṣatriya *jātis* have fallen in the world to the level of Śūdras:
> the Pauṇḍrakas, Coḍas, Draviḍas, Kambojas, Yavanas, Śakas,
> Pāradas, Vālhikas, Cīnas, Kirātas, and Dāradas.[92]
> All the castes outside those born from the mouth, arms, thighs, and feet,
> whether speaking foreign or Ārya languages, are called Dasyus.

M 10.43-45

So, that is the way currently to distinguish the mixed castes. The same sage also describes in general the causes for them:

> By adultery between castes, by marriage with disallowed women,
> and by deviating from the work right for them, the mixed *varṇas* arise.

M 10.24

In this connection, Yājñavalkya tells how some of these hybrids obtain a higher *jāti* and how some of the higher ones obtain a lower *jāti*:

> A higher *jāti* is known to be attained in the seventh or even in the fifth *yuga*;
> the same is true in the case of a reversal of livelihood.
> Whether they are higher or lower depends on what they were before.

Y 1.96

30 When *jātis* such as the Mūrdhavasikta, for instance, are elevated, the superior character of the Brahmin, etc., manifests itself in the seventh or fifth *yuga* or birth cycle. The sixth is implied here as well by the words "or even."

The alternation occurs in this manner. A Mūrdhavasikta woman, produced by a Brahmin father and a Kṣatriya mother, is married by a Brahmin; she bears a daughter. This daughter is married by a Brahmin; their daughter, in turn, is married by a Brahmin, and by uninterrupted succession, the fourth daughter gives birth to a fifth generation Brahmin son. So too, an Ambaṣṭha woman, produced by a Brahmin father and a Vaiśya mother, bears a daughter. The daughter, in turn, bears a daughter, and so on successively, until the sixth generation daughter gives birth to a seventh generation Brahmin son. Thus, there is a gradual improvement from daughter to daughter

[92] The MSS. of Manu 10. 44 have variant readings for these ethnic names. Olivelle has chosen Puṇḍrakas, Kāmbojas, and Pahlavas for his edition. The Kāmbojas were in what is today northwest Pakistan. Pahlavas=Persians; Cīnas=Chinese; Yavanas=Greeks; Coḍas and Draviḍas=southern Indians (Dravidians). *Manu's Code of Law: A Critical Edition and Translation of the Mānava-Dharmaśāstra*, 336n10.44; 819.

in the aforementioned lines of descent. Other similar changes can be inferred.

Next, if someone, in a "reversal of livelihood," i.e., a turnabout in his means of livelihood, makes a living by the degraded occupation of a lower caste person, he becomes equal to him in the fifth, sixth, or seventh birth. For example, when a Brahmin, Kṣatriya, or Vaiśya cannot live by the main occupations of his caste, he is permitted, in adversity, to do the degraded work of a lower *varṇa* than his own. But, if a Brahmin, when freed from adversity, does not give up the livelihood of a Kṣatriya and produces a son, who continues to live by such an occupation and propagates the line, then, the sixth-generation will produce a seventh generation Kṣatriya. If he continues to make a living by a Vaiśya occupation, the fifth generation will produce a sixth generation Vaiśya; and, if
31 by a Śūdra occupation, the fourth generation will produce a fifth generation Śūdra. In the same way, a Kṣatriya, making a living by a Vaiśya occupation, produces a Vaiśya in the sixth generation, and by a Śūdra occupation, a Śūdra in the fifth generation.

A "reversal of livelihood," like birth, is of two kinds: *anuloma* and *pratiloma*, i.e., the low performing the work of the high, and the high performing the work of the low, indicates the state of being higher and lower: highness and lowness should be determined as before, i.e., by birth, such that a Brahmin living as a Śūdra is better, and a Śūdra living as a twice-born is the very worst.

As Vasiṣṭha says:

> Those who are unable to support themselves by their own lawful work may resort to the next worst livelihood, but never to one better. V 2.22

However, the author of the *Mitākṣarā* explains the mixed caste system differently. *Varṇa* mixing is threefold: mixing *varṇa*s, mixing a varṇa with a mixed *varṇa*, and mixing mixed *varṇa*s. Of these three, mixing of two *varṇa*s is the marital union of two people belonging to two of the four basic *varṇa*s. This, in turn, is said to have twelve forms, because of the division into *anuloma* and *pratiloma*. Mixing mixed *varṇa*s is the marital union of two people of mixed *varṇa*s; it is described by the text beginning "the Rathakāra is begotten by a Mahiṣya male on a Karaṇa female." (Y 1.95ab). [93] Finally, mixing a *varṇa* and a mixed *varṇa* is the marriage of a person in a *varṇa* and a person in a mixed *varṇa.* This also is of two kinds, because of the difference between regular

[93] The edition wrongly duplicates the citation of Y 1.95ab.

and reverse order. For instance, the offspring of a Mūrdhavasikta woman with a Kṣatriya, Vaiśya, or Śūdra, the offspring of an Ambaṣṭha woman with a Vaiśya and a Śūdra, and the offspring of a Niṣāda woman with a Śūdra, are born in reverse order.

32 Likewise, the offspring of a Brahmin with a Mūrdhavasikta, Ambaṣṭha, or Niṣāda woman, the offspring produced by a Brahmin and Kṣatriya with a Mūrdhavasikta or Ugra woman, and the offspring of a Brahmin, Kṣatriya, or Vaiśya with a Karaṇa woman are born in regular order. By the principle of *vākyabheda*, "higher and lower" here corresponds to the earlier phrase "good and bad."[94]

This concludes my detailed description of the four *varṇas*.

> It was for the son of Keśavadāsa, King Pilājī the illustrious,
> an ocean of only good qualities, a treasury of blessings to the good,
> cynosure of the learned, that the preceding enquiry into caste was made
> in the *Gemstone of Good Śūdra Conduct* by Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa.

Thus ends the first section, an enquiry into caste, in the *Gemstone of Śūdra Conduct*, composed by the venerable Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa.

[94] *Vākyabheda* is giving two meanings to one sentence. This violates the Mīmāṁsā principle as applied to the interpretation of ritual that one sentence must convey one particular meaning only: *arthaikatvād ekam vākyam* (*Jaimini Sūtra* 2.1.46).

33 **Second Section**

Śūdra Duties and Conduct

On this subject Parāśara says:

> The highest dharma for a Śūdra is to serve the twice-born.
> Anything else he does would be fruitless. PS 1.70

Indeed, service to them is the cause of attaining the supreme good.

Manu says so explicitly:

> For the Śūdra, the dharma leading to happiness is simply to render obedient service to reputable Brahmin householders who are learned in the Veda.
>
> M 9.334

Because of the word "highest" in Parāśara, a Śūdra's dharma is service to Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas too.[95] Likewise, he also says:

> Pure, serving the higher, soft-spoken and humble, and always
> taking refuge in Brahmins, he attains a higher state. M 9.335

Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas are both "higher." "Taking refuge in Brahmins" means that, although engaged in service to Kṣatriyas, etc., for a livelihood, his person is entrusted to a Brahmin. Somewhere there is a variant reading that says "he attains a higher status with regard to *jāti*."[96]

The *Mahābhārata* says:

> The Brahmin must be served by a Śūdra at a distance like a blazing fire.
> But he is served with personal contact by a Vaiśya or Kṣatriya. MB 13.58.33

34 Gautama says:

> The Śūdra is the fourth *varṇa* with a single birth. Speaking the truth, refraining from anger, and purification apply to him also. According to some, he should simply wash his hands and feet in place of sipping water. He should make ancestral offerings, support his dependents, provide for his wife, serve the upper castes, seek his livelihood from them, use their discarded shoes, umbrellas, clothes, mats, and the like, and eat their leftovers. He may also support himself by working as an artisan. The Ārya whom he serves must also support him, even when he is infirm and unable to work, and in similar circumstances he should support the upper using his stock for that purpose. He is allowed the use of the '*na-*

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[95] Correcting the Khiste-Kaviraj edition's *param* to *parama*.

[96] Other readings of Manu 9.335 are: "*utkṛṣtim jātitaऽśnute*" in place of the Khiste edition's "*utkrstim gatim aśnute*." Patrick Olivelle has "*ucchritim jātitaऽśnute*" with the variant, "*utkṛṣtām jātim aśnute*." *Manu's Code of Law*, 809. Hence, Kṛṣṇa is right in his gloss on a "higher state." If an acceptable reading, it refers to *jāti*.

maskāra' *mantra*. According to some, he may offer the minor domestic sacrifices (*pākayajñas*) himself.

G 10.50-65

"Single birth" means the absence of the second birth in the form of initiation with the sacred thread. Some hold the view that washing the hands and feet serves the purpose of sipping, but others require a single drink of that water. "Support his dependents" means providing for those who must be fed. "Provide for his wife" means to be devoted to *varṇa*-appropriate wives. Some say he is to devotedly support these wives only and not take on other responsibilities. Service to those of the three higher *varṇas*, i.e. Brahmins etc., means providing a living to them. "Worn out," i.e., previously used up shoes, clothes, etc., should be given to him by those he has previously served. "Mats" are seats made of grass. "Eat leftovers" means eating what remains in a dish after a meal. This refers to non-*dāsas*. Others interpret the rule, "One should not give leftovers to a non-Brahmin," as referring to a Śūdra householder on the basis of the statement by Vyāghra that:

> Day by day, leftover food should be given to a Śūdra
> who keeps the domestic rites, non-leftovers to a householder. .

Manu says:

> The leftovers of their food must be given to him
> as well as their old clothes, old grain, and old furniture. M 10.125

Medhāthiti explains this as follows: "Leftovers," i.e., what remains in a pot of food for guests and so on, should be given to a Śūdra who has served you, not those in a dish. 'Old grain" is poor, spoiled, and stale grain. 'Old furniture" are beds, seats, etc.

"He must be supported by him even when infirm" means that, although weak and incapable of working, a Śūdra must, nevertheless, be supported by whomever he previously served.[97] Manu says of a poor Brahmin:

> Śūdras must allot to him out of their family property a maintenance,
> depending on his ability, industry, and the number of those he must support.
>
> M 10.124

"From their family property" indicates to Medhāthiti that he is to be supported like a son. That means that he has to take into consideration the number of people he will have to support. "He should support the higher," i.e., in return, the Śūdra should support the Ārya," when he is poor," i.e., without a livelihood, by means of money earned through handicrafts. A Śūdra's "stock," i.e.,

[97] Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa now resumes his discussion of the quote from Gautama at 34.5-6.

his savings of money, is used to nourish him.

36 On the obligation of the low caste to offer their support to the Ārya, Jātūkarṇya has this to say:

> The Ārya seeking help from a low caste person,
> who appears like a servant, should be treated as such.
> The poor, but diligent and learned Brahmin should
> always be supported by a Śūdra, though he never served him.

"He is allowed the use of the *namaskāra mantra*." This means that when offering *vaiśvadeva* etc., a Śūdra is permitted by Dharma experts to pronounce the names of the different deities in the dative, followed by *namaḥ*.

The "*pākayajñas*" are the five great sacrifices. Although Vedic recitation (*brahmayajña*) is not accomplished with cooked food, it is still designated as one because of its close association with them. Or else, the word "*pāka*" denotes "excellence" so that *pākayajña* means excellent sacrifices.

"He may offer himself," etc., means that, "according to some," he should not let his son, wife, or any other offer the *pākayajñas*. In any case, it follows that there is nothing wrong when a Brahmin, etc., has someone perform the *pākayajñas*.

The question then rises, since the *pākayajñas* are performed in a sacred fire, how is a Śūdra en titled to perform them? Indeed, according to the text of Yogi :

> A twice-born householder should perform the domestic rites each day
> in his marriage fire, or in the fire brought when inheriting property,
> and, failing those, he should offer them in water. Y 1.97[98]

The Śūdra has no marriage fire

If, however, we follow Gobhila's view that *homa* is offered with *mantra*, he has no marriage
37 fire, because marriage *homa* is performed with *mantra*, and a Śūdra is denied *homa* due to the fact that he is deprived of *mantra*.

The *namaskāra mantra*, however, directly speaking, is authoritatively described as a feature of the five sacrifices—marriage *homa* is not performed with it. To this, some authors answer that, since texts such as Y 1.97 have different readings for each of the twice-born classes, and because of the clear sanction Śūdras have to perform the *pākayajñas*, they may offer them simply in a non-

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[98] Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa's citation differs from the accepted edition. Yājñavalkya (1.97d) has *śrautam vaitānikāgniṣu*. He has *tadbhave dvi-jo ऽpsu ca.*

sacred common fire. Therefore, a marriage fire is not obligatory even for the three upper *varṇas*; how much less does it have anything to do with Śūdras. Aparārka and Medhātithi interpreted in this way. Others, however, say that failing a *smārta* fire, the three upper *varṇas* are instructed to put them in water. Therefore, Śūdras too should offer *vaiśvadeva* and so on in water.

In the *Prabhāsa Khaṇḍa* of the *Skanda Purāṇa*:

> A Śūdra ought not to hold *darbha* grass, drink the milk of a brown cow,
> or eat on the middle leaf of the *palāśa* tree, beautiful lady.
> He must not utter the *Om mantra*, eat sacrificial cake,
> wear a lock (*śikhā*) and sacred thread, recite Sanskrit words,
> or press the triple pressings of *soma*.
> He should always perform rites with the *namaskāra mantra*.
> Committing forbidden acts, he sinks down, dragging his ancestors with him.

The phrase "must not wear a *śikhā*" applies to degraded Śūdras. On the other hand, Vaśiṣṭha,[99] permits this to a *sat*-Śūdra:

38 > The Śūdra's way of living is limited to service to them. Wearing locks of hair is not restricted for any, except for leaving a *śikhā*.[100]

The term "or" means they may either shave all the hair off or shave the hair leaving a lock. This is determined by whether he is, respectively, an *asat*- or *sat*-Śūdra. The *Smṛtikaumudī* explains it differently: "While Vaśiṣṭha will show later that, for Śūdras, tying a lock, which partly established anyhow, is optional, except at the time he performs ritual acts. He here incidentally indicates that this option is true 'for all four *varṇa*s,' i.e., Brahmins, etc." At the time for ritual, a loose lock is always disallowed, but at non-ritual times is optional.

Similarly, Manu says:

> Śūdras living by the rules should do a monthly shearing of hair,
> follow Vaiśya rites in matters of purity, and eat the food of twice-borns.

"Monthly" does not mean "a month long," but "once every month." "Living by the rules" means to serve the twice-born and perform the five great sacrifices. "Vaiśya rites in matters of purity" are Vaiśya ways of dealing with birth pollution, etc., and *ācamana*. We should take this to mean the fifteen days of impurity for birth pollution. And, *ācamana* for a *sat*-Śūdra consists in drinking three mouthfuls of water.

But is it not laid down that a woman and a Śūdra are purified once touched, meaning by touch-

[99] Misspelling of Vasiṣṭha.
[100] This quote is not in the *Vaśiṣṭha Smṛti*.

39 ing the lips with water one time only? He has no sacred thread since it is no concern of his. Hence, Baudhāyana says:[101]

> Śūdras supervised by Āryas should shave their hair every month
> and perform sipping like Āryas.

"Supervised by Āryas" means serving Brahmins etc. "Like Āryas" means like Vaiśyas.

Manu says:

> If a Śūdra wishes to earn a living, let him do honor to a Kṣatriya,
> or a Śūdra may want to make his living by rendering honor to a rich Vaiśya.
> He should serve Brahmins alone for heaven or for both.
> The meaning of the term "*jāta*-Brahmin" (born to serve Brahmins) will be fully realized.
>
> M 10.21-22

"For heaven" means in order to reach heaven. "For both" means to wish for heaven and a livelihood. The term "*jāta*-Brahmin" means service to Brahmins as the highest duty.[102] Nevertheless, both objectives of obtaining heaven and a livelihood by employment with the twice-born are attained by service to Brahmins. If employment with them is not possible, there is the aim of heaven alone.

If a livelihood by serving Kṣatriyas or Vaiśyas is not possible, emergency dharma should be done. Says Yājñavalkya:

> The principal task[103] of a Śūdra is to serve the twice-born.
> If he cannot make a living by that, he may become a merchant
> or live by various crafts, caring for the welfare of the twice-born. Y 1.120

Manu:

> When a Śūdra is unable to enter into the service of twice-born men
> and is faced with the calamity (*atyaya*) of his sons and wife,
> he may earn a living by the activities of artisans. M 10.99

40 "Atyaya" means loss.

> That is, the work of artisans and various kinds of crafts, the practice
> of which best serves the twice-born. M. 10.100

"The work of artisans" is carpentry, wood-cutting, and the like; "crafts" are leaf-cutting, graphic

[101] The text here resembles Baudhāyana DS on sipping (1.8.22-23).
[102] The term "*jāta*-Brahmin" and KS's definition is peculiar. A *jāti-brāhmaṇa* or "birth-Brahmin" is a mocking term for a Brahmin who does not study the Vedas and coasts on the prestige of his birth. Scharfe, *Education*, 102.
[103] Y 1.119 has *pradhānam karma*.

art, etc.

Devala:

> The duties of Śūdras are serving the three higher castes, feeding their wives and family, husbandry, cattle-rearing, carrying loads, shop-keeping, painting, dancing, music, etc.

Parāśara:

> The salt, honey, liquor, buttermilk, ghee, and milk
> is not spoilable by Śūdra *jāti*s; he can sell these to all. PS 1.171

.

And,

> Selling liquor, meat, eating forbidden food, and cohabitation
> forbidden by law, by committing these even a Śūdra at once falls. PS 1.72

As for the *Laghuparāśara* text:

> If a Śūdra sells liquor or meat, if he eats things not to be eaten,
> If he has intercourse with a women with whom it is forbidden,
> he is outcasted immediately,

As well as the text from the *Kālikāpurāṇa* which forbids selling honey, meat, and the like, as follows:

> A Śūdra can sell any substance without incurring blame, except for five of them:
> honey, hides, liquor, lac, and meat,

these rules apply in case of emergency and the like.[104] The principal means of livelihood is to live by serving the twice-born. If that is impossible, he may sell goods commercially, except for honey,
41 liquor, hides, lac, and meat, or he may earn a living by painting, and the like. In the case of extreme emergency, he is allowed to sell even honey, liquor, and so forth.

Uśanas summarizes the sequence in exactly the same way:

> Living by service to the twice-born, practicing all crafts,
> and selling all wares are said to be *śūdradharma*.

In the *Nṛsiṃhapurāṇa*:

> He should give unasked; he should rely on farming for a living;
> heeding the Purāṇa, with regular worship of Nṛsiṃha.

Parāśara:

[104] The text has the indecipherable *atrāyām nigarva*.

> If a Śūdra drinks the milk of a brown cow (*kapilā*), if he has intercourse with a Brahmin woman, and if he meditates on the text of the Veda, he becomes a *cāṇḍāla*.

"Meditating (*vicar*) on the text of the Veda" means knowing it, because the verb "*car*" means to go and the rule is that verbs meaning "to go" mean to know. Since knowledge is acquired by means of hearing, reciting, and thinking about it, these three are forbidden.

Similarly, a sūtra of Vyāsa on the non-qualification of Śūdras states:

> On account of the prohibition of hearing, studying, and its meaning, and on account of *smṛti*. BS 1.3.38

In the *Śāṅkarabhāṣya* this sūtra is explained as follows: "On account of this sūtra, too, the Śūdra is disqualified, since it forbids him to listen to the Veda, to learn it by rote, and to be concerned with its meaning. S*mṛti* denies the Śūdra the right to listen to the Veda, it denies him the right to learn it by rote, and it denies him the right to learn its meaning and to act upon it."

First of all, in connection with the qualifications of Śūdras, Gautama forbids them to listen to the Veda:

42 If he listens intentionally to the Veda, his ears shall be filled with tin (*trapu*) and red resin (*jatu*). G 12.4

And:

> Truly, a Śūdra is but a walking cemetery.
>
> Śābara on Jaimini VI.1.38

And, then:

> If he repeats it, his tongue shall be cut out; if he commits it to memory, his body shall be split asunder. G 12.5-6

"He" means a Śūdra, "listens in on" means comes near and listens with the intent of learning it. Therefore, some say that merely listening to the sound of the Veda does not constitute a fault on the listener's part. *Trapu* is tin and *jatu* is lac.[105] "Walking" means that the Śūdra is just like a burial ground in human form.[106] "Repeating" and "committing to memory" are two kinds of knowledge in the form of inquiry about the text and its meaning, respectively. Accordingly, any kind or any degree of deliberation on the meaning of the Veda is prohibited. Both Karmamimāṁsā and

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[105] Resin from the lac insect used for varnish, wax, etc.
[106] Kane 2: 154n358.

Brahmamimāṁsā very clearly discuss the texts of the Vedas in this light, in the usual manner of primary and final views.

The *Nyāya śastra*, on its part, discusses the duality of the Self, which is understood from such Vedic texts as:

> Two *brahman*s should be meditated upon—the higher and the lower.
>
> Maitri U 6.22; MB 12.224.59

> A pair of two beautiful winged birds, friends….
>
> Śvet. U 4.6; Mu. U 3.1.1

which seem to oppose *śruti* texts such as:

> There is only one *brahman*, without a second.

On the other hand, the explanation of the sixteen *padārthas*, supports their view. The logicians call this the discipline of thinking. As Udayanācārya says:

> This rational discussion of God, which takes the designation "reflection,"
> is simply worship that is done following scripture.
>
> *Nyāyakusumāñjali* 3

For the same reason, study of the Vedāṅgas is also prohibited to Śūdras, because these, too, result in understanding the meaning of the Vedas. That's why they are "limbs" of the Vedas. Besides, the very text that enjoins studying the Veda, "One should study one's own Veda," prescrib-
43 ing study up to an understanding of its meaning, involves teaching the Vedāṅgas as the basis for this understanding. If, as far as the Śūdra is concerned, the very thing to be achieved, namely, the study of the Veda, is removed, the study of the Vedāṅgas, which is useful for it, is automatically removed as well. That is why the *Kūrma Purāṇa* states:

> When a twice-born studies one Veda, two Vedas, or more Vedas than two,
> together with their Vedāṅgas, in order to understand them, then he
> becomes a *snāyin*, the highest of the twice-born.

As for the Vedic grammar of Pāṇini and the other Ṛṣis, this is forbidden, either because it is *smṛti,* or because it is a Vedāṅga. On the other hand, as far as non-Vedic grammar[107] is concerned, nothing can be deduced about it: since it is not helpful for the Vedas, there is no injunction about it.[108]

[107] Emending *vaidikam to avaidikam* as the needed contrast to the *vyākaraṇam ārṣam* in the preceding sentence.

Of course, there is this:

> The wise should not use *mleccha* words, i.e., words not formed according to grammar. Corrupt and ungrammatical, indeed, is *mleccha*.[109]
>
> Since the *arthvādas*, which extol the injunctions, enjoin proper usage, grammar, which is enjoined as a mean to interpret them, will be accessible even to a Śūdra.

This is of no use. Indeed, except for bad speech at a ritual, there is no fault in using improper speech because of a passage from the author of the *Mahābhāṣya*:

> There were two Ṛṣis by the name of Yarvan and Tarvan. They usually said "*yarnāṇas*" and "*tarvāṇas*" whenever "*yadvānas*" and "*tadvānas*" were to be spoken, but they never mispronounced them during a sacrificial ritual.
>
> MBh 1.17.9

and because of the *śruti* text:

> This word, like a thunderbolt, harms the sacrificer like putting the wrong accent on "Indraśatru." TS 2.4.12

Now, if one asks the question: according to the *śruti* text "he should not omit to perform the five sacrifices with the *namaskāra mantra*,"[110] the Śūdra also performs sacrificial acts, is good pronun-
44 ciation required in this case? The answer is no, because speaking Sanskrit is especially prohibited to Śūdras in the *Prabhāsa* section of the *Skānda Purāṇa*:

> A Śūdra should not take *darbha* grass; he should not drink the milk of a brown (*kāpila*) cow;
> he should not eat on the shiny middle leaf of the *brahma* tree
> he should not pronounce the OM *mantra*;
> he should not eat the sacrificial cake;
> he should not wear a sacred thread or topknot;
> he should not speak Sanskrit;
> he should not recite the Veda nor enjoy the three libations of *soma*;
> he should accomplish ritual with the *namaskāra mantra* to be sure;
> if he commits forbidden conduct, he sinks together with his ancestors.

And so, the prohibition of mispronunciation is concerned with something other than women and Śūdras. For the same reason, it is accepted that Vedic grammar is not be studied because it is a matter of speaking Sanskrit words.

Manu also prohibits the study of *smṛti*:

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[108] I.e., it is wholly *aprāpta*. Something is *aprāpta* when ones does it either naturally, or because there is an injunction to do it. Studying grammar is neither something one does naturally, nor, as the text says, is there an injunction about it.

[109] *Cf.* MBh 2.8: *brāhmaṇena na mlecchitavai nāpabhāṣitavai / mleccho ha vā eṣa yad apaśabdaḥ / mlecchā mā bhūmety adhyetavyaṃ vyākaraṇam.*

[110] Y.1.121.

The man for whom the rites beginning with the impregnation ceremony
and ending with the funeral are to be performed with the recitation of Vedic mantras,
he is entitled to study *śāstra*; no one else is entitled to this. M 2.16

"This" is *smṛtiśāstra*.

Likewise, the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa* says he is not entitled even to hear the Vedas. After he heard Sumantu enumerate the *smṛti*s beginning with:

"Listen, the Dharmaśāstras are Manu, Viṣṇu, Yama, and Aṅgiras,"

and then say:

"When they had heard and understood these Dharmaśāstras,
they went to the city of Vṛdāraka and rejoiced, no doubt about it,"

45 Śatānīka said:

"I do not want to hear these Dharmaśāstras spoken of by you,
virtuous leader of the Brahmins, for they are secret, twice-born.
they were promulgated by the Pāṇḍavas for the three *varṇas* only,
not for Śūdras. Hear what I say about this.
All the Vedas were instituted for the Brahmins, etc.;
likewise, the *śāstras* of Manu, etc., and the Vedāṅgas completely.

BhP *Brāhma parva* 1.44-50

Moreover, it is also forbidden to listen and memorize Purāṇas, because of the text:

'The Purāṇas are the fifth Veda according to the saying that Purāṇa is equal to Veda.'"

Similar is the reference to the Purāṇas in the *Kūrma Purāṇa*:

This *śāstra* should be memorized regularly by Brahmins
on each *parvan* of the lunar month;[111]
it should not be recited in the presence of a Vṛṣala;
he who deludedly recites it goes to many hells.

In the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa*:

A Śūdra reading Purāṇa, Veda, and *smṛti* from delusion or desire
goes to *kuṭṭanam* together with his ancestors.

"*Kuṭṭanam*" (crushing) is the name of a hell.

Also:

May the king, his reign and line be short-lived
in whose kingdom Śūdras are always reading Purāṇa and Veda.

46 And:

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[111] *Parvan*: the days of the four changes of the moon, i.e., the eighth and fourteenth day of each half month and the full and new moon.

> The Purāṇas, Dharmaśāstras, and Vedas were uttered by the seers.
> A king should not have Śūdras improperly learning scripture as they like.

In the *Vāyavīyasamhitā*:

> This ancient gem, the Purāṇa of Puruśāsana, should not be told to those
> who don't know the Veda, nor given to a heretic; for when given to him
> he goes to hell.

But is it not said that Śūdras are entitled to listen to the Purāṇas? In the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa*, following the question of Śatanīka:

> The Śūdras seem deeply dejected before me,
> deprived of sacred knowledge, to my great grief.
> Which was the knowledge proclaimed for them, twice-born, of old by the sages?

Sumantu says:

> Good ! good ! mighty-armed one, hear the supreme word.
> Hear, greatest of kings, the Dharmaśāstras pronounced for the benefit of all four *varṇas*.
> But especially made purifying for Śūdras by the sages are
> the eighteen Purāṇas and the deeds of the descendent of Raghu, Rāma,
> tiger of the Kurus, for success in achieving the object of all their desires.

BhP *Brāhma parva* 1.51-55

Similarly, referring to the Purāṇas:

> These Dharmaśāstras pronounced by the learned,
> tiger of the Kurus, always belong to the best of the four *varṇas*.
> 47 and are worthy to be heard in this world, great and virtuous king.
> The duty of Śūdras is service and knowledge only by the Purāṇas.

BhP *Brāhma parva* I.65-66

> Some learned men say Śūdras are the same as women.

And:

> They declare the study of doctrine is for the twice-born, O best of sages.
> For Śūdras freed from worldly attachment and women, great sage,
> the study of Purāṇa has been pronounced by the learned the study of doctrine.

Other texts such as this one in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* must be understood in the same light:

> The triad of women, Śūdras, and the twice-born in name only
> do not have access to the *śruti*. Thus, the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*
> was composed for them by the merciful sage. BP 1.4.24-25

True, but the import is this: an examination of statements prohibiting hearing shows that hearing and reciting are prohibited as a principal occupation; the rules about hearing apply to Śūdras as they perform their duties to the twice-born when they sit engaged in listening to the Purāṇas. For

this reason, the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa* speaks of the special manner of hearing them.

> While attending to images of the gods or to Brahmins, the Śūdra is fully
> free to listen, and so are the other twice-born. Indeed, duties concerning
> *śruti* and *smṛti* are proclaimed for the Brahmin, great king.
> Therefore, Śūdras should never hear them without a Brahmin.

"Attending to images" means that is the main occupation while listening," because he can listen
48 freely on the occasion of worshipping them, but he cannot do so on his own. That is said in "without a Brahmin the Purāṇas, etc., should never be heard." That means by being a listener while attending to a Brahmin. The same goes for one who recites Purāṇas in his presence, because in the negative injunction "this *śāstra* should not be memorized in the presence of a Vṛṣala,"[112] "in the presence" refers to him. But others says that when the Purāṇas are recited by someone in violation of the prohibition, the reciter incurs guilt, not the Śūdra. Thus, hearing them is fully allowed, not studying and reciting them. They should not be studied and recited by another than a Brahmin or Kṣatriya, because of the prohibition of it in the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa*:

> A Śūdra should hear it only, never study it.

But in the *Vāyu Purāṇa*, the Sūta says:

> A Śūdra is not in any way entitled to the Vedas. VaP 1.28
> The Brahmins have shown that I am entitled to the Purāṇas.

This texts establishes that the Śūdra is authorized, because a Sūta is a Śūdra by reason of his mixed caste, according to the text of Yogi [Yājñavalkya] that a "Sūta is the son of a Kṣatriya father and a Brahmin mother."[113]

Or, this text must be interpreted as saying that he is authorized through Brahmins, i.e., by substitution of them. Even though, in this case, there is no question of memorizing, a Śūdra should come to understand and enact dharmas indirectly from the Purāṇas or by instruction from the mouth of Brahmins proficient in *śruti* and *smṛti.*

The text, "he should not omit to perform the five sacrifices with the *namaskāra mantra*,"[114]
49 shows that the *namaḥ* mantra is the only mantra to be used as in "reverence (*namaḥ*) to the gods, reverence to the ancestral fathers." Or in all rituals a Śūdra should repeat aloud only "*namaḥ*," not

[112] A *vṛṣala* is a low, contemptible man that in later language means a Śūdra. Monier-Williams.
[113] Y 1.93a.
[114] Y 1.121. Kṛṣṇa quoted it earlier (44) and will again (157).

Vedic, Smārta, or Purāṇic mantras. Gautama also says," he is allowed the *namaskāra mantra*."[115]

On the other hand, in the *Smṛtikaumudī*, beginning with the text "In the *Anuśāsana Parvan*," the following verse is quoted:

> *Svāha* and *namaḥ* are prescribed as the mantras for the Śūdra;
> with these two he should perform the *pākayajña* rites himself,
> with *mantra* (*brahmavān*).

The *svāha* or the *namaḥ* salutation, since both are assumed collectively. "With these two" means with the *svāha* and *namaḥ* mantras. In the word "*brahmavān*," *brahma* means mantra. The sense is that he who knows these should perform the *pākayajña*s in his own right. Some say that there is no *svāha mantra* in the case of Śūdras because it is commonly rejected and is contrary to good custom.

About this, the *Gauḍa* says:[116]

> The purpose of reciting mantras is dual: achieving the invisible
> and achieving visible ends, by way of showing what has to be performed

Of these two ends, the invisible is manifested just by pronouncing a mantra in the form of the *namaskāra mantra* in the generally accepted form; but to show the visible end he should have mantras recited by a Brahmin. Although a Śūdra is forbidden to hear or to recite mantras, this is not forbidden when there is a special text to that effect. As we see from the text in the *Varāha Purāṇa* in connection with the funeral rite for a single deceased ancestor (*ekoddiṣṭa*):

> This same rule has been enjoined for Śūdras, but without mantras;
> for a Śūdra without mantras (*amantrasya*), a Brahmin is taken with the *mantra*.

VrP 188.48

50 "Is taken with the *mantra*" means that a Brahmin is called upon as its reciter. The purpose of the adjective "without mantras" is to extend the rule to all those who are without mantras. As a result, when the rite is performed by a woman, a Brahmin should recite the mantra, for the rationale is the same for both. Since it is possible also by methodical meditation, it is not even necessary for a Brahmin actually to recite the mantras, because he only instigates the visible ends. The phrase "a Śūdra without mantras" is a metarule, and a metarule is not limited by context. Hence, a *mantra*

[115] G 10.64.
[116] There are four works beginning with *gauḍa* in Kane (1974): I. 2. 1025.

should also be recited by a Brahmin on other occasions than the funeral rite for a single deceased ancestor, namely, when bathing, giving gifts, etc.

For the same reason, the older commentators say that, even though the statement by Kātyāyana that “in rituals for one’s father, there is twice as much *darbha* grass,” is quoted in the chapter on *śrāddha*, being a metarule, it applies to any paternal calamity[117] whatever..

Madanapāla explains the text differently: “When in the *śrāddha* of a particular school after the formula of invitation, it is enjoined that the *mantra* be recited by a Brahmin, then also in a *śrāddha* performed by a Śūdra as patron the mantra should be recited by a Brahmin invited for the purpose. This is the meaning of the verse, “a Brahmin is taken with *mantra*.”

The author of the *Kalpataru*, on his part, says that Śūdras are disqualified for Vedic mantras, but not for Purāṅic ones. Therefore, since Purāṅic dharma is specifically prescribed for women and Śūdras, and since these dharmas came into being with specific mantras, Śūdras recite Purāṅic mantras as part of ritual.

Such is also the custom in Madhyadeśa. Duties that are explicitly forbidden to Śūdras are
51 suppressed; those directly enjoined are maintained. But those that are neither enjoined nor forbidden are commonly followed, but only those without mantras. Some Vedic or *Smārta* obligations, although performed without Vedic mantras, are also forbidden.

Vyāsa in the *Mokṣadharma* says:

> Brahmins, Kṣatriyas, and Vaiśyas are the three twice-born *varṇas*;
> they are equally qualified for it, O excellent one. MB 12.285.25

“For it” means in matters of *śruti*, such as performing sacrifices for others, and in matters of *smṛti*, such as morning and evening worship. We will see later that they are qualified for sacrifices and the like by special texts.

The *Kūrma Purāṇa* has spoken of the fruit of each one practicing his own dharma:

> The place of Prajāpati is assigned to the Brahmins who practice the rites,
> the place of Indra to the Kṣatriyas who do not run away from battle,
> the place of the Maruts to the Vaiśyas who follow the duties prescribed for them,
> and the place of the Gandharvas to the Śūdras who follow the path of service.
>
> KP 1.2.66-67

[117] *Pitṛkṣaya*: father diminution.

In the *Mahābhārata*:

> If anyone of the three non-Brahmin *varṇas* wish to live according to the *āśramas*
> hear, Pāṇḍava, the laws for the *āśramas*. All the *āśramas*, except for desirelessness,
> are prescribed for the Śūdra who has fulfilled his duty of obedient service and
> completed the task of extending his lineage with the approval of the king, Lord of the earth,
> or follows his own dharma and the customs of his country.
> 52 The life of begging is not for him who is following his own true dharma.
> MB 12.63.11-14

"Desirelessness" is the stage of renunciation. The point is that he is eligible for the three stages, excluding renunciation. Note that begging should not be practiced while in the stage of studentship, which comes down to saying that all pure duties of the other stages may be performed.

The *Matsya Purāṇa* shows, in the guise of an account of what will happen in the future, that other things, too, are forbidden to a Śūdra. For example, at the beginning of its account of how people will behave in the Kaliyuga, it says:

> Thenceforth all this world will fall on terrible times.
> Men will be liars, beaten down, and destitute of righteousness, love, and prosperity.
> The observance of *śruti* and *smṛti* will be slack, caste and order demolished.
> Weak-souled and deluded, they will fall into caste confusion.
> Brahmins will be of Śūdra stock,
> and Śūdras, verily, will be the source of mantras.
> Brahmins will come to them seeking the meaning of the Vedas. MP 273.45-47

In the *Kūrma Purāṇa* it says:

> Very bad men, impious, immoral, filled with anger, with little intelligence,
> they speak falsely, are greedy, and wrongly-born. KP 2.28.3

"Wrongly-born" means of mixed-caste birth. Likewise, it states:

> Due to bad designs, bad learning, bad behavior, bad courses,
> and defects in the actions of Brahmins,
> the dissolution of the people occurs.
> Most of the rulers will be Śūdras and will oppress Brahmins.
> White-toothed Śūdras, doing ascetic practices, shorn and wearing ochre garments
> 53 will follow the laws of piety at the close of the age.
> Seeing the twice-born, those of little wit will not move from their seats,
> and the Śūdra minions of the ruler will beat the most excellent of Brahmins.
> Although he knows that Śūdras are sitting on their high chairs among the twice-born,
> under the sway of the Kaliyuga, the ruler does not suppress them, chastiser of foes.
> With flowers, ornaments, and other adornments the twice-born
> of little learning, wealth, and power wait upon Śūdras.
> Even when honored, Śūdras will not look on the best twice-born, O prince.
> The twice-born will stand at their door looking for an opportunity to serve;
> the dependents of Śūdras, they crowd round them in their carriages.
> Dwelling in the most awful impiety they recite Vedic verses. KP 1.28.4-22

It had already been said before that *mantra*s should not be recited by a Brahmin at the time of a rit-

ual.[118]

In the *Liṅga Purāṇa* also:

> In the Kaliyuga, Śūdras are the source of mantras.
> They have contact with Brahmins by sleeping, seating, and dining with them.
> Kings are mostly Śūdras and harass Brahmins.
> Śūdras behave like Brahmins and Brahmins behave like Śūdras.
> Kṣatriyas are not kings and Brahmins are dependent on Śūdras.
> All are respectful to Śūdras honored by Brahmins.
> 54 The dim-witted do not stir from their seats on seeing Brahmins.
> Brahmins put a hand over their mouth and humbly speak in the ear of low Śūdras.
> Then Śūdras versed in dharma study the Vedas.
> Kings of Śūdra birth perform the horse sacrifice.
> Therefore longevity, strength, and beauty in the Kaliyuga diminish.
> But, then, in a short time men attain completion.
> Good men without ill-will will practice the dharma laid down
> in the scriptures at the end of the age.
> What is gained by the practice of dharma in a year in the Tretā
> will be gained in a month in the Dvāpara.
> What an intelligent man might do, striving to the utmost,
> is attained in a day in the Kaliyuga. LP 1.40. 6-47 passim

By a consideration of texts such as these we see that Śūdras are at fault and are doing things they ought not when they sleep, sit, and eat together with Brahmins, recite and listen to the Vedas, expound Vedic subjects, put themselves before Brahmins, harass and order them about, follow their way of life while wearing the ochre garb of a renunciate, shaving the head, and going "white-toothed," not rising on seeing a Brahmin, striking them, using high beds, seats, and carriages in front of Brahmins, dishonoring a Brahmin when he is comes to visit, making him wait at the door, having Brahmins serve them, following the dharma of higher castes, performing sacrifices, and following the rules meant for a person sacrificing. Therefore, these things should not be done.

55 Next, Parāśara forbids other things than these:

> If a Śūdra sells liquor or meat, eats forbidden food,
> or has illicit relations, he loses caste instantly. PS 1.72

"Liquor" means everything such as rum and the like. "Meat" means both flesh that may be eaten and flesh that may not be eaten. Note that this prohibition is for times when there is no emergency; it was said earlier that in an emergency there is no offence. Cow flesh is not to be consumed on account of the prohibition on eating cows and animals in the Kaliyuga. "Illicit relations" is incest with his mother, sisters, and so on.

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[118] The reading of this line is uncertain. The editor correctly adds *na* after *mantro*. It is more likely that the reading was *brāhmaṇena na* and that it was left out by haplography.

Since in the negative injunctions on drinking spirits, wine, and so forth, only members of the three upper *varṇas* are specifically mentioned, the drinking of wine is not prohibited for Śūdras on account of a text in Manu:

> Half of his person falls whose wife drinks liquor.
> No expiation is ordained for a person half-outcaste.

If this refers only to wives of the twice-born, it is meaningless. Indeed, they are already forbidden to do so by the text, "therefore Brahmins, Kṣatriyas, and Vaiśyas should not drink wine." Since they appear in the subject of the sentence, [119] words expressing the masculine are not meant to refer to males only. For the same reason, this prohibition applies to Brahmin women and so forth, i.e., the uninitiated, because it is based on caste only.

Similarly, in case of contact with a wine-drinking Śūdra, even the penance laid down to counteract the contact does not hold. For if someone makes use of liquor, wine, etc., the drinking of which is prohibited to him, he incurs loss of caste. Contact with those who have lost caste is a cause of losing caste, also because of the *smṛti* text:

> And the one who has such contact becomes a fifth.[120]

56 Besides, since a Śūdra is not prohibited drinking wine, there is no penance for contact with him. On the other hand, there is penance for a Śūdra when he has contact with a member of the upper three *varṇas* to whom drinking wine is forbidden. But, whatever penance is declared for contact with any liquor-drinker, they say that a Śūdra should perform a quarter less.

However, the killing of Brahmins, etc., is prohibited for Śūdras too, since non-violence is the common duty of all castes. As Viṣṇu says:

> Patience, truth, self-control, purity, charity, sensory restraint,
> non-harm, obedience to the guru, pilgrimage, mercy,
> honesty, freedom from greed, reverence to gods and Brahmins,
> and no ill-will, this is the universal duty. VS 2.7-8

In the *Mahābhārata* it is said:

> Performing rites for the departed, austerities, truth, and non-anger,
> contentment with one's wife, purity, constant freedom from ill-will,
> self-knowledge, and forbearance, is the common dharma, Prince.
> MB 12.285.24

[119] *uddeśya*
[120] I.e., he is outside the four *varṇa*s.

Supply "to all four *varṇas*."

Now, should someone object, since Śūdras are not permitted to pursue knowledge, how then are they eligible to follow *mokṣadharma*, we reply that although they are not entitled to discuss the meaning of Vedic texts, it is not incompatible with the fact that they are permitted to think about the knowledge of *mokṣadharma* gained from Purāṇas incidentally heard while engaged in the business of serving Brahmins. The *Sūta Samhitā* of the *Skānda Purāṇa* says as much:

57 The Brahmin devoted to the dharma of beatitude, O Lotus-eyed,
is the first in qualification for worship and meditation on Hari.
Other Brahmins, seers, Kṣatriyas, and likewise,
Vaiśyas are qualified for meditational practice by degrees.
Brahmin women also are qualified for sacred practice.
For Śūdras there is service and knowledge only through the Purāṇas.
Some experts say women have the same status as Śūdras.
ŚP 1.7.18-21

In the *Mokṣadharma* section of the *Mahābhārata* we are told that:

Constantly attaining knowledge, whether Brahmin, Kṣatriya,
Vaiśya, or even Śūdra of low birth,
one endowed with faith should always show reverence for it.
Birth and death does not befall the faithful.
From knowledge comes liberation for men,
not from non-knowledge, so the divinely wise twice-born say.
Therefore, one should increase knowledge
and thereby free oneself from birth and death.
MB 12.306.84-85

Where there is no explicit mention of caste or prohibition for the Śūdra, then is he fully entitled.

Similarly, in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*:

58 The triad of women, Śūdras, and the twice-born in name only
do not have access to *śruti*.
Thus, the tale of the Bhāratas was told by the merciful sage.[121] BP 1.4.24-25

"Twice-born in name only" are sons fathered by men of the first three *varṇas* on Śūdra women. They are Vrātyas, the sons of men in the first three *varṇas* who have lost caste through non-performance of the sacraments.

Hence in the *Mahābhārata*:

Taking refuge in me, son of Kunti, those of low birth,
women, Vaiśyas, and Śūdras too, attain the supreme goal. MB 6.31.32

[121] This verse was quoted earlier (47) with *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* instead of "tale of the Bhāratas."

Therefore the great sins such as killing of a Brahmin apply to Śūdras also. And, the penance for a great sin for a Śūdra is four times more than for a Brahmin, as stated in the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa*:

> The penance sanctioned for Kṣatriyas is double that for Brahmins,
> for Vaiśyas triple, and for Śūdras quadruple.
> A penance should be regarded as a vow for the purification of sins.

The sense is that whatever the penance is for a Brahmin in a particular instance, in the same instance a Kṣatriya should do twice as much penance, a Vaiśya three-times as much, and a Śūdra four-times as much.

On the other hand, *The Opinions of the Twenty Four* states:

> Of the penance handed down by the great Ṛṣis,
> for a Brahmin, a Kṣatriya should do a quarter less,
> a Vaiśya half, and a Śūdra a quarter for all these offences.

This does not apply to the fourfold acts of violence committed by a lower person against a higher according to a text in the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa*:

59 The guilt incurred by a lower *varṇa* person for killing an upper *varṇa* person
should be considered heavier as you go down from a Kṣatriya to a Śūdra, without doubt.

Yājñavalkya similarly says:

> In the case of a person of lower *varṇa* using abusive language
> toward someone of higher *varṇa*, the penalty is double, triple, or quadruple respectively.
> But when a higher vilifies a lower, the damages are half by rank.
>
> Y 2.210

Verbal abuse by a Śūdra, Vaiśya, or Kṣatriya is penalized on a graduated scale of four-, three-, and two-times respectively. And, penalties are said to be punishments. For the same reason, when a mixed-*varṇa* person, such as a Mūrdhāvasikta (son of a Brahmin father and Kṣatriya mother), kills a Brahmin, the penance is more than for a Brahmin and less than for a Kṣatriya, i.e., half as much more than the penance for a Brahmin. So he has eighteen years.[122] In the same way, for all the rest of the mixed *varṇas*, less penance should be set for the *anuloma* mixed *varṇas*, and more for the *pratiloma* mixed *varṇas*. Whatever penance is prescribed for a Śūdra, women, children, the ill, and the old shall get half of it. As Aṅgiras says:

[122] The edition is garbled here. To make sense, *aṣṭādaśārdhāni*, "18 halves," must be changed to *aṣṭādaśābdāni*, "18 years." The penance for a Mūrdhāvasikta who kills a Brahmin is said to be one and half times that of a Brahmin. Manu (11.73), Yājñavalkya 93.243), Viṣṇu (50.6), and others say that for killing a Brahmin the perpetrator must stay in the forest for twelve years, perform a *mahāvrata* for 12 years, and so on. So 12 years is the base penalty.

One who is eighty years old, a child of less than sixteen years of age,
women and the sick are allowed half the penance. AS 33

And, at the same age women do a quarter of the penance when men do a half. As Angiras says:

60 Before twelve years or above eighty,
there is only half for men and a quarter for women.

One should understand this to mean that for any *varṇa*, whatever the penance is said to be, old men from that *varṇa* should do half, and women a quarter.

On the other hand, the Viṣṇu text, "the rule is a quarter should be paid in the case of boys for all offences," is for uninitiated boys.

Note also that the text by Śaṅkha:

When a boy is between five and nine years old,
the brother, father, or other friendly person may do the penance.
For a child younger than this there is no fault or sin;
he is not subject to the law and there is no penance,

does not mean to exclude penance entirely, because rules on penance are the same irrespective of stage of life, *varṇa*, age, and particular conditions, and therefore, apply to those listed in it as well. All this text does is establish that these individuals should not be subject to the full expiation. conditions of stage of life, *varṇa*, and age, and particular conditions, but is explaining the lack of full expiation. Thus, since a quarter is proposed for boys after the fifth year, before that, he sets a slightly less penance. But whenever a particular penance has been set for Śūdras, the gradual diminution should be made starting from each particular rule.

The determination of a penance by a Śūdra is forbidden in the *Explanation of the Law*:

61 Now a Kṣatriya, Vaiśya, or Śūdra should on no account
make a determination of penance, in the view of the learned.

In the *Opinions of the Twenty-Four Sages* we read:

Just as Brahmins, etc., should not drink milk in a dog skin,
like that, speech from a Śūdra's mouth should
on no account be heard. The words even of an educated Śūdra,
knowledgeable in the śāstras, should not be heeded,
like food offerings thrown out for the dogs.
If a Śūdra in his pride of knowledge speaks to a Brahmin,
he goes to a terrible hell until the end of creation.

Aṅgiras says:

So a Śūdra, always following the dharma, should offer penance,
without chanting mantras and making oblations in fire.

This means that a Śūdra, because of his lack of education, should be instructed in the forms of giving and making vows such as for the *kṛcchra* fasts, exclusive of chanting mantras and fire oblations that are to be performed with Vedic mantras.

On the other hand, on the basis of this text of Jābāla:

> At the beginning and end, especially, of all *kṛcchra* fasts,
> she should offer a sacrifice in the household sacred fire
> with clarified butter, but without the *vyāhṛti*s.
> She should do *śrāddha* at the end of the observance
> with things like a cow and gold in her right hand.
> Women should not offer *homa* nor drink the five cow products,

62 other say that because of the rule that women offer *homa* in the ordinary domestic fire only, women and Śūdras offer *homa* in a non-sacred common fire with a Brahmin officiating. But the pentad of cow products for women is optional, seeing that Pārāśara prescribes it in this verse:

> One performs the *prājāpatya* fast to purify women and Śūdras.
> He or she should prepare the five cow products, and by bathing
> and drinking them become pure. PS 12.4

and forbade it earlier. It is not forbidden for a Śūdra man.

As for the verse:

> If a Śūdra drinks the five cow products, or a Brahmin drinks wine,
> these two acts are the same: both will dwell in the hell called Purulent,
>
> VS 54.7 ; Atri 300

that refers to the five cow products that are not part of penance.

A Śūdra should do *japa* and *homa* as part of penance with a Brahmin officiating, according to the metarule:

> A Śūdra being without *mantra*, a Brahmin should be taken for the *mantra*.
> VrP 188.48

Likewise, in the *Explanation of the Law*:

> If someone's fasting, vows, sacrifice, pilgrimage, bathing, chanting and so on
> are effected by Brahmins, the fruit is his on whose behalf it is done.

The rest of this can be seen in the chapter on penance in the *Govindārṇava*.

Devala says:

> The duty of a Śūdra is service to the twice-born *varṇas*,
> avoidance of sin, and fostering his family.

63 In the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* we read:

> Having right to the sacrifice of prepared food by service to the twice-born only,
> he generates people of his own. This makes the Śūdra very fortunate.
>
> VP 6.2.23
>
> A Śūdra is also to give gifts and offer the sacrifices of prepared food.
> He makes all the offerings for ancestors. VP 3.8.33

Manu says:

> Serving Brahmins is regarded as the distinctive work of a Śūdra—
> anything else he does is futile. M 10.123

What this means is this: Only a Śūdra wholly dedicated to serving the twice-born may do the five rites for a householder, etc. This is not incompatible with service to them. But by turning away from service to them, doing the five rites becomes totally ineffectual, because such a person has no right to do them.

In the *Ānuśāsana Parvan* of the *Mahābhārata* we read:

> Passion, anger, delusion, cruelty, malice,
> dishonesty, enmity, pride, fraud, falseness,
> abuse, calumny, greed, baseness, and contempt
> take possession of a Śūdra at birth.
> A Śūdra's dark dispositions are destroyed by devotion to the twice-born.
> By serving the twice-born a Śūdra attains the supreme good.
>
> MB 14. App. 4. 3340-3349
>
> Harmless, virtuous, worshipping the gods and twice-born,
> a Śūdra is honored for following his own dharma
>
> 64 and garnering its approved fruits. MB 13. App. 15. 524-525

Similarly:

> The Śūdra should never accumulate property.
> A bad one in his greed for wealth would put his betters under his control.
> Or when king, he may indulge his desire for wealth in accord with dharma.
>
> MB 12.60.29

The point here is that he would have power over the twice-born, i.e., tread upon them, not value them. "When king," and so on, means that if a Śūdra is king and is granted permission by the twice-born, he may accumulate wealth as he wishes. Or, if he obtains the position of staying at

the royal court or protecting the king's family, then, with the permission of the twice-born, he is free to accumulate wealth as he pleases.

Manu says:

> Even though he may be able, the Śūdra shall not amass wealth;
> for when he acquires wealth, the Śūdra obstructs Brahmins. M 10.129

and:

> For the Śūdra there is no sin; nor is he worthy of any sacrament.
> He is not entitled to the sacred rites; but there is no prohibition against them.
>
> M 10.126

Medhātithi says about this that no sin accrues to a Śūdra, as it does for the twice-born, in committing any violation which is not expressly prohibited to him by actual name, but what, without reference to any particular *varṇa*, is prohibited as a general rule to everyone, such as harming living things, stealing, lying and so forth. Similarly, a Śūdra has no right to any sacrament that is not specifically stipulated for him. However, I will show later on that the rites of conception, naming, first walk, first food, marriage, and death, for which there is explicit authority, are not prohibited.

With regard to this second half of the verse, a Śūdra has no right to *śrauta* or *smārta* rites which are to be accomplished with mantras. But there is no prohibition for common observances such as bathing, fasting, worship, and so forth, which are accomplished without mantras. Since in the case of such acts as bathing, fasting, vows, giving, and worship there is no obligatory duty,[123] their omission is no sin. That is why there is no prohibition against them because their prohibition is not prescriptive, they apply to everyone, and are conducive to his welfare when performed. In the same way they say that such things as eating garlic are also not prohibited, but there are beneficial results in avoiding it.

As Manu said:

> There is no sin in eating meat, drinking liquor, or having intercourse —
> that is the natural activity of creatures; but abstention has great rewards.
>
> M 5.56

"Meat-eating" means as prescribed in an injunction. The word "liquor" also implies garlic and

[123] Or else, the meaning is that the Śūdra is not permanently entitled.

things of that sort. “Intercourse” is sexual relations with one’s wife at the proper and improper time. Because visible and invisible fruit arises even from avoiding anything generally forbidden, abstention has great rewards. But one should not suppose that the absence or prohibition of rites such as the Soma sacrifices leads to great rewards when he does not perform them, since these are enjoined for specific *varṇa*s.

66 Nor may one say that Śūdras can do Soma sacrifices, and so on, provided they use no mantras, based on the text in Manu:

> If those who, knowing their duty and wishing to acquire merit,
> imitate the practices of good men without reciting mantras,
> they incur no sin—they obtain praise.
>
> M 10.127

Not so. With the mantras left out, the performance of rituals that involve mantras would not have the required sound. They must be done exactly as ordained by scripture. Otherwise, the ritual is imperfect. How could mantra-less Śūdras have anything to do with rituals that are perfectly accomplished only by mantras from Vedic texts? By this reasoning, Śūdras are not qualified even for rites such as the birth ceremony.

On the other hand, “without reciting mantras, they incur no sin,” means this: in the case of such acts as bathing, fasting, and worship of the gods, which are completed without mantras, their right to perform them is clearly not denied. There is no sin in performing them without the authoritatively taught Vedic mantras.

Vyāsa has something similar in the *Mokṣadharma*.

> One hears opinions that, for a certain sacrament, the Śūdra does not loose caste,
> that he is not worthy of performing it, that he cannot perform a ritual
> prescribed by the Veda, and that he is not forbidden to perform it.
> By performing the rites that promote their well-being,
> without the mantras, he incurs no sin.
> Whenever low people take up the ways of the good,
> they attain and rest in happiness here and hereafter.
>
> MB 12.285.27, 29-30

For this reason, the Śūdra has no right to the sacraments that are accomplished with Vedic mantras.

67 There are two kinds of *saṁskāra*: *daiva* and *brāhmaṇa*. The *pākayajña*s (sacrifices of cooked food), *havi*s (burnt offerings), and *soma* are divine. Because they are performed with mantras,

they are not for him. The *smṛti*-based rites of conception, and so on, are *brāhmaṇa*. There are sixteen of them, as Jātakarnya says:

> *Garbhādhāna* (impregnation), *puṁsavana* (male conception),
> *sīmanta* (parting the hair), *jātakarma* (birth), *nāmakaraṇa* (naming),
> *annaprāśana* (first rice), *caula* (tonsure), *mauñjī* (initiation), the four vows,
> *godāna* (gift of a cow), *samāvartana* (graduation bath), *vivāha* (marriage),
> and *antyam* (last rites). These are the sixteen ordained rites.

These are obligatory. In this case, Śūdras are to do those without mantras, as Yama says:

> Such is the Śūdra, too. He should do the rites without mantras.
> Prajāpati did not provide him with any Vedic verses.

Yājñavalkya also says:

> Brahmins, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas, and Śūdras are the four *varṇas*.
> The first three are the twice-born. All their rites from conception
> to death are performed with mantras. Y 1.10

It is understood here that since only the rites of marriage and death are ascribed to the Śūdra, he does not have the others. Thus, Sumantu says:

68 The rites of conception, parting-of the-hair, birthday, naming, first rice, tonsure, sacred thread,
and vows, conduct, study, the rites of homecoming and marriage, sacrifice, and giving
are common to Brahmins, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas.

Manu also says:

> The consecration of the body, starting with conception,
> should be effected for twice-born men with auspicious Vedic rites,
> cleansing in this life and the next. M 2.26

Vedic rituals are rituals done with verses from the Vedas. With these, the twice-born, not Śūdras, should purify the body.

Although, in this way, there is a general prohibition, it is suspended in particular instances. For example, on the basis of the text:

> Devoted to his wife, pure, supporting his dependents, zealous in offering *śrāddha*,
> he should perform not forgo five great sacrifices with the "namaḥ" *mantra*. Y 1.121

one who is pure from performing the five great sacrifices and *śrāddha*, and supporting his dependents, is allowed the rite of conception. Indeed, devotion to one's wife is intercourse with her at the proper time, and that is precisely the time of impregnation.

In the same way, Śūdras can do the naming ceremony according to Yogi, but the name should

suggest the repugnant. According to the *Mānavaśāstra*, it should have a suffix denoting service;[124] and, according to a text of Vyāsa:

> The name for a Brahmin should end in "sharma."
> for a Kṣatriya in "varma;" for a Vaiśya the name
> should include "gupta," and for a Śūdra "dāsa."

According to the text:

69 In the fourth month the ceremony of taking the infant out of the house is done.
In the sixth the ceremony of first rice, and any other dear to the family, M 2.34

Śūdras have the rites of first appearance in public and first solid food, because no specific *varṇa* is referred to. The word "infant" is used to include Śūdras. The rite of ear-piercing is also for him, since no particular *varṇa* is cited. He does not have the other rites, as they are done with mantras.

In the *Brahma Purāṇa* we also see the following:

> The Śūdra, on his part, has simply the sacrament of marriage always.

By the word "simply" is expressed the denial of the other rites to Śūdras. The explanation in the *Kalpataru* is similar:

> The word "simply" means that the other *saṁskāras* are denied.

But the word "simply" does not deny mantra; because of his lack of knowledge only are those *mantra*s inapplicable to a Śūdra." So we understand this to mean that the performance of the rites of naming, ear-piercing, first walk, and first solid food is optional. And, in this way, there is no contradiction with *smṛti*, since *smṛti* achieves its aim even though laying down the rites of naming as optional.

The rite of tonsure, however, is for the twice-born only, according to the text of Manu:

> The first cutting of the hair is for all twice-born, by dharma. M 2.35ab

A Śūdra's hair is cut in the fashion of his own family—but this is not the rite of tonsure, because the term "tonsure" only applies when there are five tufts, four tufts, etc., and because this is not
70 possible for Śūdras. Thus, Laugākṣi says:

> The rite of tonsure is done toward the end of the third year. The descendants of Vāsiṣṭha have a lock on the right side, the Ātris and Kāśyapas on both sides; the Bhṛgus shave the whole head; and the Āṅgirases keep five locks. Some keep a line of hair for its auspiciousness, others wear a top-lock (*śikhā*) or follow family tradition. The rite is performed on an auspicious day of the waxing moon and the four lunar changes.

[124] M 2.32.

A lock, generally speaking, should be made in the top middle of the head, but for the Vāsiṣṭhas, it is on the right side. For the Ātris and Kāśyapas, it is on both the left and right sides. For the Bhṛgus, all of the head is shaved—no lock is worn. For the Āṅgirases, there are five: one is in the middle surrounded by four to the four directions. Some, on the other hand, make a line of hair for good luck; it goes all around from the forehead to the base of the ear; in the middle of it, there is or is not a lock, depending on the custom. The "top-locked" wear a single lock anywhere by no fixed rule, and so, its place is determined by the domestic rites of the house. I have explained earlier that when it comes to shaving a Śūdra, there is the alternative of wearing locks or shaving him totally.[125]

Initiation, too, is not for a Śūdra, because it is taught with reference to specific *varṇa*s: a Brahmin should be initiated in the spring, a Kṣatriya in the summer, and a Vaiśya in the autumn.

Āpastamba similarly says:

> Non-Śūdras without guilt may undergo initiation. A 1.16

And Manu, too, shows that these rites are for the twice-born only:

> By fire offerings for the fetus, the birth rite, the first cutting of hair,
71 and the tying on of the *muñja* grass cord, the sin of paternal seed
> and maternal womb is wiped from the twice-born. M 2.27

On the other hand, the Śūdra has the rite for the dead, since it has the form of a respectful disposition of the body, and the cremation is in an ordinary, non-consecrated fire.

And so, whereas a Śūdra is not entitled to *saṁskāra*s such as birthday day and parting-of-the-hair, yet at the appropriate time for these rituals, one should perform just an auspicious ceremony which is traditional in his family, not however, the s *saṁskāra*.
itself.

But the bathing, giving of gifts, and so on, mentioned in the verse:

> When a son is born, the father is enjoined to bathe with his clothes on,

is also his, because it does not contradict any other rule. For the same reason, rites such as those for the fetus and the expectant mother, honoring Ṣaṣṭhī on the sixth day after birth of a child, the ceremony of sitting on the ground (*bhūmyupaveśana*), and so on, are not forbidden to him.

[125] SAS 38.

I will later discuss how a Śūdra can make offerings to ancestors on joyful occasions such as marriage with uncooked food only, on the basis of texts such as "but with raw uncooked food a Śūdra can."[126]

Morning and evening prayers are also not for him, as we see from the reference to twice-born in this text in the *Kūrma Purāṇa*:

> The twice-born should observe *sandhyā* in the morning and evening with a collected mind.
> Non-observance due to desire, greed, or fear leads to sinking down.
>
> KP 2.12.1

And *śruti* says:

> Then these Veda experts, facing east at dawn,
> consecrated with the *Gāyatrī* mantra, cast water up into the air.
> The water became a thunderbolt that hurled the Rakṣasas
> upon the island of the Mandeha.[127] *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* 2.2

72 The words "Veda experts" and "consecrated with the *Gāyatrī* mantra" the non-entitlement of those not entitled to recite others for the *Gāyatrī*. Those eligible to recite it are the three higher *varṇa*s only. Kātyāyana says that one should initiate a Brahmin with the *Sāvitrī*, a Kṣatriya with the *Triṣṭubh*, and a Vaiśya with the *Jagatī*, or all with the *Sāvitrī*.

Women are prescribed worship:

> *Pūjā* is similarly recommended for all Śūdras free of worldly stain,
> for all other men as well, O great bull of sages.
> Seeing a house of god, let him bow (*praṇāmeṇaiva*).
> The life of a man who does *pūjā* in this way prospers.

"*Praṇāmenaiva*," means with the five syllable mantra "Śivāya namaḥ" plus *Om*.[128] "With Śiva and a *namaḥ* at the end only" means just "Śivāya namaḥ" without the *praṇava*, thereby conveying that women and Śūdras are not entitled to the sacred syllable *Om*.

But Śūdras have initiation with Vaiṣṇava mantras, as we see from the verses in the *Varāha Purāṇa* beginning with:

> I will now speak of the glorious initiation of the four *varṇas*.[129]
>
> VrP 126.11a

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[126] SAS 217.
[127] For *mandehāruṇadvipe*. Some commentators, Sāyaṇa and Bhāskara Miśra, say that the Mandehas are Rākṣasas cast upon the island of Aruṇa (dawn). They are described in some Purāṇas. See Willibald Kirfel, *Das Purāṇa vom Weltgebäude* (Bonn, 1954) and *The Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki: An Ancient Epic of India*, IV. *Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa*, trans. Rosalind Lefeber (Princeton: Princetown University Press, 1994): 301-302n36-37.
[128] The text on page 72 appears to be corrupt.
[129] The critical edition of the *Varāha* has *yaśasvini*, "O renowned Lady," rather than "glorious (*yaśasvinīm*) initiation."

and then:

> I shall also speak about the initiation of the Śūdra who is devoted to me,
> by means of which he is freed from all sin. VrP 127.22a

and concluding with:

> Such is the procedure of initiation for Śūdras and its attendant ceremonies.
>
> VrP 127.32a

And in this passage from the same text, referring to the *Pañcarātra*:

> If Vedic mantras are not available to them, persons who unhesitatingly seek me
> 73 by following the Pañcarātra teaching will attain me.
> The Pañcarātra is prescribed for Brahmins, Kṣatriyas, and Vaiśyas.
> By way of hearing, it will reach people like Śūdras. VrP 10b-12a

The *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa* states:

> One may give initiation to Brahmins, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas of good family,
> and Śūdras in the *sūryamaṇḍala*.[130]

There is also initiation with the mantras of Śakti and Vināyaka in various Āgamas. The capability of doing *pūjā* is granted in the same source:

> Now I will speak of the acts that a Śūdra performs
> while abiding in me, hear me
> O husband and wife, with whole-hearted faith and devotion.[131]

When chanting the *Gāyatrī mantra*, Brahmins say "tat savitur vareṇyam," Kṣatriyas say "deva savitur," and Vaiśyas, "viśvārūpaṇī." Consequently, since there is no *Gāyatrī* for the Śūdra, he is not entitled to the morning and evening worship performed with it.

Furthermore, from the fact that one who is deprived of *sandhyā* is equal to a Śūdra, in this text:

> With a calm mind, let him perform morning and evening prayers (*sandhyā*).
> The man who does not pray to the east and to the west is the same
> as a Śūdra and excluded from all dharma

it is understood that a Śūdra is not eligible to perform *sandhyā*. Such things, however, as meditation on Viṣṇu are not prohibited at this time, since they are not incompatible. And so, those saying
74 that Śūdras can perform morning and evening prayers with the *namaskāra mantra* are repudiated, because the *namaskāra mantra* is expressly prescribed for the five great sacrifices, offerings to ancestors, setting a sacred fire, and bathing.

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[130] Text corrupt. A *sūryamaṇḍala* is a sun circle or symbol of the solar orb and solar system with many varied uses in initiation and worship involving, e.g., Sūrya, Nārāyaṇa, Śakti, and Gāyatrī.
[131] A guess. This line is untranslatable given the corruption of the edition.

Investiture with the sacred thread is not for him.[132] Manu also enjoins it only for the twice-born.

> A Brahmin's sacred thread should be three cords of cotton and is worn upwards,
> a Kṣatriya's is made of hemp, and a Vaiśya's of wool.

Thus, Śūdras have no right to use even *smārta* mantras such as the *praṇava* at an initiation performed with *śrauta* mantras.

Likewise, regarding the worship of Śiva, the *Skanda Purāṇa* beginning with:

> I will tell you the rule of worship, Brahmins.

and having prescribed the mantra:

> With the blessed five syllables plus *Om*.

continues:

> Let the brahmacārin, the householder, and the righteous retiree
> daily worship the great god Śiva, the all-knowing,
> the all-creating, the Lord of Mother Pārvatī.
> The renunciate should worship the Lord of Lords with *Om* only.
> Worshipping with the "Śivāya namaḥ" *mantra* only, devoted to me,
> absorbed in me, submissively doing my work,
> knowing the right place and time, free of passion and darkness,
> abiding in constant thought of me, loving the *namaskāra mantra*.[133]
> Leaving behind thousands of Ṛṣis, I go to the Śūdra alone who is
> pure in deed and practices with my sacred knowledge in this way.

Similarly, the *Narasiṁha Purāṇa* states:

> Brahmins, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas, women, and the lowest Śūdras
> devotedly revere the supreme god who is half-lion,
> and are freed from the ocean of tens of millions of unhappy and evil births.
> Worshipping the supreme god, they attain their desire.
>
> NsP 54.11

Likewise, in the *Liṅga Purāṇa*:

> Then the great god Rudra in his divine realm said,
> "Brahmins and Kṣatriyas especially should revere me.
> I wish only to hear the homage of Vaiśyas and Śūdras.
> And women too have the right to *pūjā* etc. without a doubt" LP 2.20.1-2

These verses allow only worship at a distance, not also touching. This is said in the *Brihat Nāradīya*:

> For women, the uninitiated, and Śūdras, Janeśvara,
> there is no authorization to touch either Viṣṇu or Śaṅkara.

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[132] This line (5) of the edition is corrupt. The *Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra* does define the sacred thread. Only by changing *vastravinyāsādīni* into *vastravinyāsādīti* can the text refer to an unknown quotation from Baudhāyana.
[133] My best guess. These three verses have lacunas in the edition.

Also:

> Anyone who bows to a *liṅga* or image of Viṣṇu touched by Śūdras
> will experience the torments of hell as long as the moon and stars exist.
> Anyone who bows to a *liṅga* or Viṣṇu attended by women
> 76 will stay in hell until the end of the world.

As well as:

> If a man adores a *liṅga* or Viṣṇu worshipped by Śūdras,
> there is no expiation for him, even by myriads of severe penance.

All these texts forbid worship involving contact with the images, but not worship itself, because that is enjoined everywhere.

There is a verse, however, in the *Skanda Purāṇa* that makes a distinction:

> The man who abandons his own dharma and relishes another's
> is the fabulous moon-beam drinking partridge, a fraud, and a fool—
> even when he offers worship to me, I smell the odor of corpses.

This tells us that *pūjā* should not be offered to Śiva by anyone failing to perform his *varṇa* duties. But the same text says that, even when delinquent in his dharma, a Brahmin still has all the rights to *pūjā.*

> I am ever pleased with the adoration of Brahmins filled with Vedic *mantra*.
> I do not shrink from the touch of the twice-born, O You of Lovely-Face.
> Even when touched by a Brahmin given over to the ways of Śūdras,
> I rejoice still more when worshipped by him, Beautiful One.

Because of the reference to "twice-born" in this passage, Śūdras who have a livelihood[134] equal to them and women, are forbidden to touch a *liṅga* or image—they should offer reverence only from a distance.

77 This prohibition of touching applies to *liṅgas* set up at the present day, not ancient ones established from time immemorial, as the *Nāradīya Purāṇa* says in this verse:

> When a *liṅga* is set up properly by learned Brahmins,
> from that time forth, let no Śūdras and women touch it.

As for verses such as:

> Kāyasthas and such people should abstain from the *śikhā*, investiture,
> wearing saffron clothing, and touching the images of the divinities,

and:

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[134] The word *yogakṣema* in this sentence is unclear. Gautama (28.46) uses it in his section on inheritance. Olivelle translates it as "security measure," perhaps a bit too contemporary in connotation, and Sharma (*Śūdras*, 97) as "livelihood." "Joint property" springs to mind.

> Chanting prayers, performing austerities, pilgrimage to holy places, the practice of *mantra*, and worship of divinities are the six downfalls for women and Śūdras,

their inconsistency is to be explained away in the manner previously discussed—as relating to their fields of application explained by their being compatible or not with service to twice-borns depending on their being *sat*- and *asat*-Śūdras.

The marks of *sat*-Śūdras are said to be: shaving the hair each month, consuming the surplus food of the twice-born, making a living by service to them, and performing the five great sacrifices. These should be regarded as the dharmic duties of good Śūdras only—the others have those common to everyone, such as non-harm to living creatures. But, it is accepted in all the Purāṇas that everyone has the privilege of praising the name of the Lord.

> This inquiry into the injunctions and prohibitions in the *Gemstone*
> *of Good Śūdra Conduct* was written by the author, for the sake
> 78 of Śrīmat Keśavadāsa's son, Śrīmat Pilājī, the standard of authority
> for eminent men of learning, the one ocean of virtue, the treasure of good fortune.

This concludes the discussion of the positive and negative injunctions for the Śūdra in the *Gemstone of Śūdra Conduct*.

An Account of the Observances Śūdras Keep in their Daily Life[135]

Manu says:

> Let him wake at the hour sacred to Brahma and reflect on his duties and interests,
> the bodily cares that are caused by them, and the true meaning of the Vedas.
> The Brahma is the third hour of the last watch of the night,
> prescribed as the right time to awaken..

And likewise:

> The house of the husband and wife who do not slumber at the Brahma hour
> is always honored by the gods, together with their ancestors.

In the *Smṛticandrikā* it says:

> Sleeping at the Brahma hour annuls merit.
> A *pādakṛcchra* cleanses the deluded man who does.[136]

[135] *Āhnikas*. See Kane II: 640*ff* for their description.

Viṣṇu says:

> The man who on rising from bed glorifies Madhusūdana
> with songs of praise makes his sins vanish without a trace.

79 In the *Vāmana Purāṇa* are these verses:

> If you get up at dawn and see a learned man, a prosperous man, a lord of men,
> if you get up at dawn and see, from misfortune you are free.
> If you get up at dawn and see a wicked man, an ill-starred man, a drunk,
> a naked or a noseless man it means disaster.

Urination[137]

The *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* says:

> Then, arising from his bed, he is to void his excrements, my lord,
> in the southwest quarter, a bow shot or more away. VP 3.11.8

> May Brahma, Viṣṇu, Śiva,
> the sun, moon, Mars, and Mercury,
> Jupiter, Venus, together with Saturn
> wish me good morning.

These are the things one should first look at in the morning.

Kātyāyana says:

> A learned Brahmin, a fortunate man, a sacred fire and its maker.

Yājñavalkya says:

> When a man urinates or defecates, he should put the sacred thread over his ear
> and face north during the day, at dawn, and twilight, and at night, face south.
> Y 1.17

Since a Śūdra does not have a sacred thread, it is out of the question for him to put it over his ear.

[Objection:] Since the texts of Baudhāyana and others that "he should put on clothing for initiation," ordain an upper garment and the like as fulfilling the function of the sacred thread and he can just put one of these over his ear.

80 [Reply:] Not so. When there is a sacred thread, putting it over one's ear is a *saṁskāra*, not a complementary act, like the fact of wearing it around the neck while performing a *śrāddha*, while

[136] *Pādakṛcchra*: a vow in which taking eating and fasting are done on alternate days.

[137] Detailed rules are laid down in the *smṛti*s on answering the call of nature (*mūtrapuriṣotsarga*) and *śauca*, mixing the hygienic, healthy, moral, and religious.

bathing, and so forth. There is no authority for putting a garment over the ear, and texts such as:

> What even a particular person does without the sacred thread, is as good as not done,

pertain to acts performed according to *śruti* and *smṛti* [and ergo, they apply here]..

However, since a wearing the sacred thread is excluded (*niyama*)[138] and a penance is prescribed for not wearing it when eating, and so on, he is forced to put a garment over his ear.

[Objection:] The fact that a penance is prescribed in the verse:

> One who drinks, urinates, or eats not wearing the sacred thread
> must do six *prāṇāyāmatrikas* during the day, and at night, three.[139]

indicates that the penance is subsidiary to urinating.

[Reply:] Not so, since this text applies to the twice-born. Compare the *Vṛddha Pārāśara*:

> If a twice-born eats, urinates, defecates, or ejaculates without the sacred thread,
> a Brahmin must fast for three nights, a Kṣatriya does a *pādakṛcchra*,[140]
> a Vaiśya must fast for one day and one night. Such is the purification laid down of old.

Consequently, there is no reason for a Śūdra to put a piece of clothing over his ear.

Others say that he must put on his ear a….. of two *aṅgulas*; if, however, no solid piece of cloth or the like is available, this does not apply.[141]

Hārīta says:

> On six occasions one should remain silent: when defecating,
> copulating, urinating, washing the teeth, bathing, and eating.

Aṅgiras says:

> Rising at the last watch of the night and sipping water,
> 81 spreading the ground with grass, covering the head with a robe,
> keeping silent and taking care to avoid spitting and heavy breathing,
> he should evacuate wastes in a clean place with a collected mind.

Manu says:

> Covering the earth with wood, leaves, clods, and grass, let him evacuate.
> M 4.49

And also:

> He should not urinate facing the sun, or look at his own dung,
> the sun, a cow, a fire, or a Brahmin. M 4.52

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[138] When there are two possibilities (here, wearing or not wearing the sacred thread), *niyama* is the rule that excludes one of the two and restricts the possibilities to a single one.
[139] *Prāṇāyama* or breathing retention as a form of penance. It is unclear if a *prāṇāyamatrika* is one penance or a set of three.
[140] See previous note.
[141] There is a gap in the text where the corner of the manuscript was torn off.

Manu:

A Brahmin may do it facing any direction he likes in a shade,
in the dark, day or night, and when in danger of his life. M 4.51

According to the *Gṛhya Pariśiṣta*:

Wear the sacred thread on the back hanging down from the neck.
When wearing one or two pieces of clothing, put it over the right ear.

But in the *Kṛṣnabhattīya*[142] we find:

He should wear the *brahmasūtra* over the right ear when urinating, over the left when defecating, and in the usual way over the left shoulder during sexual relations.

The original source of this text is uncertain.

Āpastamba says:

If he without sipping water, anointed with oil, while shaving, or during intercourse,
and voids urine and faeces, he is purified in one day and night.[143]

82 Hārīta is of the opinion that:

Covering his nose, with a receptacle for clay strung on his neck,
placing a water jar on the ground on the right side, he should pass.

Dakṣa says:

Certainly when urinating and defecating, first take some clay,
but when taking it afterwards, go into the water clothed.

As well as:

With a water pot in his hand let him void his wastes.
That water, like urine, is the same as drinking liquor.

Manu:

Never discharge urine and feces while facing the wind,
a fire, a Brahmin, the sun, the water, or a cow,
nor in a plowed field, in water, an old ruined temple,
a green grassy spot, on a mountain or an anthill,
in a hole where animals live, walking or standing on a road,
by a river bank, in ashes, or in a pasture. M 4.48,46,47

Yama:

Don't make water in ponds, pools, springs, chaff and charcoal keeps,
temples, highways, cremation grounds, fields, threshing floors,
83 in an open shade, and a crossroad. Avoid water, banks, and a path.

[142] A rarely quoted work, probably the same as the *Karmatattvapradīpikā* of Kṛṣṇabhaṭṭa mentioned by Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa, Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa's contemporary, and dated to 1400-1550 C.E. by Kane (II.1: 1080).
[143] This sentence is not in Āpastamba and is unclear.

Avoid the foot of trees, holy spots, and rain reservoirs.

Hārīta:

Don't make water with shoes on, in a bathing-place, door, or square.

Devala:

Don't defile a *liṅga* with waste.
Don't idle there too long or talk.

Cleanliness

Bharadvāja:

Then removing excrement and urine with earth, wood, and grass,
rise with the garments lifted up, firmly holding the penis.

In the *Skanda Purāṇa*:

Holding the penis with the left hand, carefully get up.

Vyāsa:

One should not wipe with a stone, straw, charcoal, with a bone, or sacrificial grass.

In the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*:

Wipe off excreta with the left hand and with fragrant *vīraṇa* grass,
not used for sacrifice: in that way, health is maintained.

84 Devala:

The man familiar with dharma does not use the right hand to clean below.
Likewise, he should not wash above the navel with the left hand.

Dakṣa says:

The Brahman, being based on cleanliness, should always strive for it.
If he forgoes clean behavior, all his actions are to no avail.

On this topic, Yājñavalkya says:

Rising while holding his penis, he carefully
cleans away every smell and smudge with water and earth. Y 1.17

Paiṭhīnasi says:

After excreting, do not clean oneself in a water pond.
One should carefully do it with water drawn from somewhere else.

Vivasvat says:

At night only may one clean without drawing water;
afterwards clean the place, or it becomes impure.

Ṛṣyaśṛṇga says:

He must wash with water the place where he has eliminated.

Manu says:

Fine sand for the purpose of cleaning should never be taken
85 from a roadside, a cemetery, a palace or a hut.[144]

The *Viṣṇu Smṛti* states:

He should not use earth with the bodies of living creatures in it dug up by a plow.

In the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*:

Avoid earth for cleaning that has been dug up from an ant- or mole-hill,
from a body of water, left over from cleaning, or from a habitation.

Yama says:

Do not use clay from the outside of ponds, wells, and tanks.
Take it out of the center of the water down to the wrist.

Kaśyapa says:

White clay is recommended for a Brahmin, red for a Kṣatriya,
yellow for a Vaiśya, and black for a woman and a Śūdra.

Manu says:

Cleanse with the water and earth valued in each region.[145]

Śātātapa says:

After urinating, clean the penis once, the left hand thrice,
the two hands twice, and double after a seminal emission.

For cleansing after defecation, the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* states:

Apply earth good for cleaning once to the penis, three times to the anus,
86 ten times to the left hand, and seven to both hands.

On cleaning the hands Hārīta says:

Apply one to the penis, three to the anus, ten to the left hand,
six to the back, and seven to both hands.

"To the back" because the left hand came close to it

[144] Another verse not in the *Manusmṛti*.
[145] Also not in Manu.

Śaṅkha says:

Wash the fingernails with three applications of mud;
three are always recommended for the feet, if one wishes to be clean.

For Marīci says "the feet" means for each foot:

Wash the feet three times as well as the ankles,
but the hands up to the wrists, removing smell and stain.

In the *Brahma Purāṇa*:

Then apply earth twice to the feet with well-washed hands.

Even though smell and stains can be removed by the stated number of times, Manu says:

He should apply water and earth until all obvious smell and impurity
caused by it are gone. He should wash until sure it is clean.[146]

Devala also says:

The learned set no limit to the number of times to clean.

Manu gives the amount of earth for cleaning ordure:

First, half a palmful, second, a quarter palmful,
87 and third, an eighth of a palmful are recommended.

On cleaning the hands, among other things, Śātātapa says:

A lump the size of a fresh gooseberry is prescribed for a moon fast.[147]
Likewise for all oblations and the clay for cleaning.

Śaṅkha says:

A householder cleans once, a Vedic student twice,
a forest dweller thrice, and an ascetic four times.

In the *Āditya Purāṇa*:

The learned prescribe a half measure of cleaning for women and Śūdras.

But more, if odor and traces persist. Pitāmaha in the *devaloka* said:[148]

He should clean until it is good.
The learned don't specify the number of cleanings.

The twice-born before initiation, Śūdras, and women
are enjoined to clean until odor and traces are eradicated.

The*Vṛddha Parāśara* says:

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[146] Not in Manu.
[147] An *induvrata* is a fast in which the amount of food is diminished a certain portion each day over a fortnight or month. Monier-Williams.
[148] Pitāmaha is Lord Brahma in the world of the gods. This citation may be from the *Brahma Purāṇa*.

The sick clean as they are able, the well as prescribed.
An uninitiated boy carries it on until all odor and smears are eliminated.

Dakṣa:

Half of the cleaning set for the day is recommended at night.
88 a quarter of that for the sick, and an eighth for a healthy man on the road.

In addition, Parāśara says:

If he finds excrement in a place he has gone into to eliminate
he should always do a half-cleaning.

When it is not possible to divide the number into two because it is an odd number, take one half or the next higher even number.

On this topic some authorities say: Before marriage, there is no restriction of the number for a Śūdra, but he must remove all trace and smell. Even if he does not marry, after twelve years there is no restriction of the number, and it depends on his skillfulness, or lack thereof, at cleaning. But, after marrying, a Śūdra offends if he disregards the restriction on the number of times one applies earth. We infer this from the statement that "an uninitiated boy carries it on until all odor and stain are eliminated."

When washing the feet, the twice-born castes do the right foot first, then the left, Śūdras the reverse.

In Hārīta's view:

If, after cleaning, he sees his own or another's urine or faeces,
he should look at the sun, a fire, *soma*, or a Brahmin and a cow.

Devala says:

So, washing his feet separately up to the knees,
and his hands up to the wrists, he should sit quietly.

89

Sipping Water[149]

Parāśāra says:

The twice-born should sip water with the top of the head and neck covered,

[149] *Ācamana*, "sipping water from the palm," the rules for which in the *smṛti*s are elaborate and the occasions many, starting with *saṅdhyopāsana* in the morning. See Kane II: 315-316, 652.

putting the sacred thread over the left shoulder, restrained in body and speech.

Bhāradvāja says:

A twice-born must stretch out his hand before him like a cow's ear,
and take up the water holding the fingers together.[150]

Yogī says:

The proper way to sip water is with the thumb
and little finger out, facing the northeast.[151]

Yogī says:

Sitting cross-legged in a clean place facing north or east, the twice-born
should always sip water from the *brahmatīrtha* part of the hand.[152]

Manu says:

A Brahmin should always sip water from the root of the thumb,
from the root of the small finger, or from the tips of the fingers,
never from the root of the index finger. [153] M 2.58

Hārīta says:

The bottoms of the little finger, index finger, and thumb, and the finger tips
are the *prajāpati*, *pitṛ*, *brahma*, and *deva* parts of the hand, respectively. Y 1.19

Yama says:

He should not sip water until he has touched it with his left hand;
for on the left hand are the 12 Ādityas, Varuṇa and the 30 gods.

Yogī says:

The twice-born should touch the heart, throat, and palate with water in succession.
A woman and a Śūdra should purify by touching once inside with water.
Y 1.21

"Once inside" means touching the palate with water one time. This is meant as an exception to the view expressed by Gautama[154] that *ācamana* is performed three or four times. That pertains to the *asat*-Śūdra. The *sat*-Śūdra, to the contrary, should perform *ācamana* only once according to text of Manu that, "the *sat*-Śūdra should follow Vaiśya rites in matters of purity," as said before.[155]

[150] The edition has *parvataḥ*, which is unclear, Ludo Rocher suggests *pūrvataḥ* "before him," by reference to Aparārka *Aparāditya*, ed. anon., *Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series* 46 (Poona, 1903-04): 38.
[151] According to Kane, Yājñavalkya was styled Yogīśvara by the Mitākṣarā and other later works. Besides the *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*, there are three other works of uncertain authorship: *Vṛddha Yāj.*, *Bṛhad Yogī Yāj.*, and *Yoga-Yāj*. Some commentators quote from the *Yāj. smṛti* as from the *Yogi Yāj*., as Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa may be doing here, which suggests that they treated all of these works as one author's, namely Yogī Yājñavalkya. See Kane (1974): 448-57.
[152] Although attributed to Yogi, this verse is in Yājñavalkya (1.18). The previous one is not.
[153] The roots of the small finger, index finger, and thumb, and the tips of fingers of the hand are, respectively, called the *prājapatya*- (or *kāya* as in this verse), *pitṛya*-, *brāhma*-, and *daiva-tīrtha*s. A *tīrtha* is that part of the right hand from which water is sipped. See Kane II: 316n750, 652.
[154] G 1.36.

Manu says:

> A Brahmin is purified when the water reaches the heart,
> a Kṣatriya, to the throat, a Vaiśya, Śūdra, and women too, to the palate.[156]

Uśanas gives the amount going to the heart:

> A quantity of water the size of a black gram bean reaches the heart.

Pracetas says:

> With water, not warm, not frothy, and cold,
> not with water from a pond or a crevice.

Paiṭhīnasi says:

> After sipping, throw the remaining water on the left hand.
> Touch the nostrils with the forefinger and thumb.[157]

91 The *Vṛddha Śaṅkha* says:

> Touch the eyes with the thumb and middle finger joined together,
> then touch the ears with thumb and the ring finger joined together.
> Touch the shoulders with the little finger and thumb,
> then the navel and heart likewise with the palm.
> Then touch the head. This is the rule for sipping.

Yogī says:

> After sipping water three times, wash off twice and touch the nine apertures of the body.

In the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa*:

> The water that an excellent man pours out on the ground
> gladdens the Nāgas and their chief, Vāsuki, O son of Bharata.

An interpolation in Paiṭhīnasi states:

> With one foot in the water and the other on dry ground he should sip water;
> nevertheless, if he puts them both in the same place he is purified.

How to Sip Water

Devala says:

> One should not perform *ācamana* wearing shoes in the water, with loose hair,

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[155] SAS 38.
[156] This is not in Manu, but compare A 1.16.2, B 1.8.23, and V 3.31-4.
[157] The MS. is corrupt. The edition has *savyenau*, which is possibly emended to *savye pāṇau*, as in a quote from Paiṭhīnasi in the *Smṛticandrikā* II, *Āhnikakāṇḍa*: 258: *savye pāṇau śeṣā apo ninayet*, "He should put the remaining water on his left hand."

an untucked hem, or an untied *śikhā*, while wearing a turban or with the head wrapped up,
nor while walking, lying down, moving about , touching others,[158]
laughing, chattering, or busy looking yourself over.
92 He should not touch his hair, waistband, and lower body.
If he touches them, he must wash once more. D 5.543, 540

Yama says:

He must not perform *ācamana* with unwashed feet, standing on dry ground while wet,
without the sacred thread, or wearing no inner garment.
He must do *tarpaṇa*, *ācamana,* and *japa* in water wearing wet clothes.
He must do *tarpaṇa*, *ācamana,* and *japa* on dry ground wearing dry clothes.
A very bad man is he who does *ācamana* on dry ground wearing wet clothes;
His *m* s drink the water dripping from his clothes.

Viṣṇu says:

He who performs *ācamana* while standing in water up to the knees and thighs attains purity.
Below that, even if he performs *ācamana* a hundred times, he is not purified.

Śāṅkhāyana says:

A "high-footer" should not perform giving, sipping water, eating, sacrifice,
worship of the gods, Vedic recitation, or offer water to ancestral fathers.
A "high-footer" is one who puts his feet up on a seat,[159]
on his knees or thighs, or sits on his hams.

Vyāsa says:

Indeed, if a twice-born sips water with his curled-up finger tips,
the Ṛṣi said it is the same as drinking spirits.
93 The water left over from drinking, washing the feet, and cleaning
is all like urine unless a firebrand is waved around it.

In the *Kūrma Purāṇa*:

He must not drink water lifted with the left hand or with the mouth.

In the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*:

He should perform *ācamana* with *kuśa* grass in his hand;
purifying *kuśa* grass is not *ucchiṣṭa*; avoid the remnants of a meal.

Hārīta says:

If a twice-born places *kuśa* grass in the left hand,
if would be like sipping blood and filth.

Also:

The wise man places *kuśa* grass in both hands.
Do not perform *ācamana* with a blade that has a knot.

Śāṅkhāyana says:

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[158] The *Smṛticandrikā* (II: 269) attributes the next four lines to Viṣṇu.
[159] The *Smṛticandrikā* (II: 270) quotes these two lines from Gobhila with *avasakthiko,* "sitting on the hams," instead of the edition's *avasathiko*.

Never perform *ācamana* holding *kāśa* grass.
Since there may be an injunction for it,[160]
penance purifies this offence. The same goes for *dūrvā* grass.

In the *Kṛṣṇabhaṭṭīya*:

If he sips water with an iron, tin, lead, or copper cup,
even a hundred times, at no time is he purified.

The source for this is uncertain.

94 Sāṅkhyāyana says:

The drops that fall on the feet of a man who pours water
for someone else to sip are like drops on the ground
and do not make him ritually impure.[161]

Occasions for rinsing the mouth with water according to Manu are:

After sleeping, eating, spitting, telling a lie, and drinking,
or when he is going to recite the Vedas, sip some water,
even if already ritually pure.[162] M 5.145

Alternatives to Sipping

Mārkaṇḍeya:

He may perform *ācamana*, touch a cow's back, and look at the sun.
And he may also take hold of the right ear. In the absence of the former,
he should do the later, as this is within his ability. M 34. 70-71

Bṛhaspati:

If a twice-born touches damp grass, cow dung, or earth, Bṛh 541ab
breaks wind, cries out, or feels anger,
has contact with a cat or mouse, laughs out loud, or speaks untruth, 539cd
on all these occasions, let him touch his right ear. 540c, 541d[163]

The *Vṛddha Śātātapa*:

When one sneezes in the act of reciting, gets something in the teeth, speaks
an untruth, spits, or converses with the defiled, touch the right ear.

95 Aṅgiras:

If one sees a *cāṇḍāla* or such while praying or making offerings, sipping purifies.

[160] The edition's *vidhisambhavāt* is not clear. It must go with *pāda* c.
[161] This verse in also Manu 5.142.
[162] This reading, which leaves out *kṣutva*, "sneezing," is not attested in Olivelle's edition (2005): 587.
[163] Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa quotes a variant differing slightly in the *pāda*s and their order from the reconstructed version in *Bṛhaspatismṛti Reconstructed*, ed. by K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar, *Gaekwad Oriental Series* 85 (Baroda, 1941): 306.

If one touches a dog or such, sip water or touch the right ear.

Sāṅkhyāyana:

Āditya, the Vasus, Rudra, Vāyu, Agni, and Yama
are always and ever in the right ear of a Brahmin.

Exceptions to Sipping

After consuming water and herbs, chewing betel,
and for all sweet-flavored medicinals, the clear-sighted need not sip water.
When offering *madhuparka*, *soma*, water, and oblations to the five *prāṇas*,
a Brahmin does not become impure according to the Ṛṣi Aurva,

The water in this case has been consecrated with *mantra*.

Śātātapa says:

A twice-born does not become unclean by bits of fruit, roots,
and oily comestibles sticking in the teeth, by betel, or sugar-cane.

Vasiṣṭha:

Bits of food sticking in the teeth are like the teeth,
as is anything in the mouth or what remains after sipping.
Swallowing it, one becomes pure. V 3.41

Washing the Teeth

The *Vṛddha Śātātapa* says**:**

Since one is unready for devotion when there is stale food in the mouth,
96 one should with all diligence wash the teeth.
On rising in the morning, without talking, wash the teeth
with a flossing twig ten fingers long for Brahmins,
nine for Kṣatriyas, eight for Vaiśyas, and six for the rest.
But four for women.
One who has lost teeth brushes very lightly,
one with regular teeth, moderately,
and one with bad teeth, three times.

Kātyāyana says:

Facing east, one experiences confidence, joy, and health;
facing south, the terrible, facing west, failure,
facing north, loss of cattle, women, and people;
but facing the northeast direction, one attains all desires.

In the *Chandoga Pariśiṣṭa*:

On rising, wash and make yourself clean and composed,
and chanting a *mantra*, make use of a toothbrush.

The *mantra* is:

O Lord Tree, grant us life, strength, beauty, vigor, children,
cattle, wealth, Brahma, wisdom, and intelligence.

Viṣṇu says:

Each morning, silently use a tooth brush,
twelve fingers long, including the brush at the end,
97 and as wide at the top as the small finger. V 61.16

In the *Mahābhārata*:

After washing the hands, feet, and face, calm and collected,
raising the right arm and the other knee,
sit down facing east and brush the teeth.

"Raising the right arm" means being *upavītin*, i.e., wearing only an upper garment, because there is no sacred thread on the right shoulder.

Bhāradvāja:

While washing his teeth he should not look at a person of low or fallen caste,
heretics, idol attendants, dusty animals of burden,
beggars, criminals, outcastes, a dog, pig, ass, or rooster.
Anything like these the wise twice-born should not see while cleaning.

In the *Bhārata*:

One must avoid twigs that are leafy, dried, split,
barkless, knotty, and made of *pālāśa* or *śāṁśapa* wood.

Uśanas says:

Brushing the teeth with *tinduka, inguda, bandhūka, moca, amaraja, vallija,*
or cotton would take even the luster of Viṣṇu.

Yama says:

98 The man desirous of wealth should avoid brushing his teeth
while sitting, lying, standing, with shoes on,
and the self-possessed man always a twig of *pālāśa* wood.

On woods to be avoided, the *Saṁgraha* says:

Not the *śleṣmānta*, *kapīlu*, *varvura*, *dhava*, *ariṣṭa*, *añjana*, *aśva*, *kṛkā*(?),
bandhūka, iṅgudi, *śigru*, *dhanvika*, *dalī*, *tinduḥ*, *śamī*, *śālmalī*,
pālāśā, *accha*, *guḍūci*, *guggula*, *śaṇa*, ?, *vidāra*, *amrikā*,

nirguṇḍī, *śikhinī*, *vaśāka*, *viṭapā*, and *veṇu*.[164]

Nārada says:

All thorny ones are good, sappy ones are excellent.
Khadira, *karañja*, *kadamba,* fig,
tamarind, bamboo, mango, and neem,
apāmārga, *bilva,* and *udumbara*—
these are recommended for cleaning the teeth. NP 1.50.20-21

Viṣṇu says:

The 14th, 8th, 6th, and full moon:
on these days avoid women, oil, meat, and the toothbrush.
On days when *śrāddha* is offered, birthdays, marriages,
on days of vows, fasts, and indigestion—omit brushing the teeth.

Ācārya:

On the 8th, 14th, and 15th day in each half-month,
and on *vyatīpāta* and *saṅkranti* do not use a toothbrush,
99 nor when troubled by indigestion, vomiting, cough, shortness of breath, fever.
One may brush[165] before sunrise, but not after sunrise and sunset.

Parāśara:

An initiate, a *brahmacārī*, an ascetic, and a husbandless woman
should always avoid brushing the teeth on a new moon day.
This special rule applies even to women whose husbands are away traveling.
Women who are menstruating or have given birth should omit brushing.
A menstruating woman should brush on the 4th day,
and a post-partum woman on the 10th, even if there are impediments.

Vyāsa:

Wash the teeth with leaves on the 1st day of a lunar fortnight, the 6th and 9th,
at other times with twigs, and always for scraping the tongue.
In the absence of tooth twigs or on a prohibited day,
the mouth is purified with 12 mouthfuls of water.

Yājñavalkya:

Avoid cleaning the teeth with brick, stone, and with other
fingers than the ring and thumb.

Viṣṇu:

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164 The name and identification of several of these flora are doubtful. For example, *śleṣmānta* is probably *śleṣmātaka*; *kapīlu* may be *kapī*; *kṛkā*(?) may be *kṛkara* and *vidāra vidara*. A bunch of plants begin with *aśva*. The text has lacunae. The meter is perfect *śārdulavikrīḍita* (---|uu-|u-u |uu-|--u|-) except for one syllable (*śva* in *aśva*) in that should be long. I found useful the Sanskrit glossary in M. Abdul Kareem, *Plants in Ayurveda: A Compendium of Botanical and Sanskrit Names* (Bangalore, 1997). Another good source for flora is K. M. Nadkarni, *Indian Materia Medica*, rev. ed., 2 vols. (Bombay: Popular Prakashan, 1976).
165 The *adyāt* here =*bhakṣayet* earlier.

Brushing the teeth and scraping the tongue with a twig from a tree with
thorns and milky sap making the first half into a brush is indicated.[166]

100 Vyāsa:

After washing, put it in a clean place.
When kept ready, one attains from the divine the dominion one desires.[167]

It is said in the *Smṛtiratnāvalī*:

Four, eight, and twelve mouthfuls of water purify.[168]
Take them after urination, defecation, and seminal emission, respectively.
The deities are in front, the fathers on the right, and all the Ṛṣis behind.
Spit out the mouthfuls of water on the left.

Hair Care

In the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*:

The bathed man then dresses his hair, looks at himself in a mirror,
and procure oils, *dūrvā* grass, and scent. VP 3.11.22
He should look at himself in ghee if he wishes for long life.[169]

The Rules for *Kuśa* Grass and the like for Bathing

Harīta:

He who prays with *kuśa* grass, gives gifts with *kuśa* grass,
and eats with *kuśa* grass in his hand, has no limit to his lifespan.

Similarly:

The demons, seizers of *japa* and *homa*, manifest in incarnate form,
run away from the man with purifying *kuśa* grass in his hand,
scattering to the ten directions.

101 Statements like this are made in general terms. They also apply to Śūdras.

During *japa*, *homa*, charities, recitation of the Vedas, and libations

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[166] The edition is corrupt. The *Smṛticandrikā* (II: 278) has the reading, *pūrvārdhakṛtakūcakam*, "a small brush made from the first half."
[167] *daivād rājyam abhīpsitam*. The *Smṛticandrikā* (II: 276) has "one attains all the food one desires."
[168] The *cāṣṭa* qualifying *gaṇḍūṣaiḥ* must be a faulty reading.
[169] The text is questionable. The third line is not in the critical edition of the *Viṣṇupurānam,* ed. M. M. Pathak, I: 307.
M. N. Dutt translates it: "Having finally washed his mouth, he must clean and arrange his hairs and must decorate his body, before a looking glass with unguents, garlands and perfumes." *Viṣṇupurānam :A Prose English Translation*, *Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series* 90 (Varanasi, 1972): 200.

to the *pitṛs*, the hand should not be empty of gold, silver, and *kuśa* grass.

In the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*:

A Brahmin shall make a *pavitra* with four bundles of *kuśa* grass,
one by one less is advised as you go down the *varṇas*.

In the *Smṛti Bhāskara*:[170]

Vedic experts say that Brahmins must make the *pavitra* with seven bundles of *kuśa* grass,
Kṣatriyas with five, Vaiśyas with four, and Śūdras with two.

Rules for Bathing

Mārkaṇḍeya says:

Since all the ritual acts of an unbathed man are fruitless,
he is instructed to bathe regularly every morning
with *kuśa* grass in his hands and the *śikhā* knotted.
Do *prāṇāyāmas* and properly observe the fixed times.

Vyāsa:

Meditate with *Om* and the *Gāyatrī*, then tie the *śikhā,*
sip water again, and touch the heart, arms, and shoulders.

102 Note that this is for the twice-born alone, for Śūdras do this in complete silence, since they are not qualified for *Om*, the *Gāyatrī*, and the like.

In the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*:

The twice-born should not make offerings in fire, worship the gods,
bathe, dine, recite, or pray, with one garment on.
VP 3.12.19-20

Manu says:

He must never take a bath after eating, when ill, at night-time,
with a lot of clothes on, or in a strange body of water. M 4.129

In the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*:

Do not bathe in an unfringed garment, except for the loincloth,
in something belonging to another, wet, or stitched with a needle.

In the *Smṛti Sāgara*:

If someone asks for sesame and *kuśa* grass to perform a rite in water,
the fruit of the rite is not his, but the giver's.

[170] See Kane I^2: 1152.

Manu says:

> The implements for bathing are all placed on the right side.
> He who does so attains the great good.[171]

In the *Saṁgraha*:

> Enter water, the house of the gods, a bed, and the residence of Brahmins,
> with washed feet, unwashed never.

103 In the *Ācāra Sāgara*:

> One must know the right time (*tithi*) for birth, death, anointing,
> travel, bathing, teeth washing, reading, and writing.

Manu says:

> After washing the hands and feet, sipping water in purity and silence,
> with knowledge of the lunar and solar day, and so on,
> having properly made his resolutions according to the rules.[172]

"Let him bathe" is understood.

On the other hand, the *Kātyāyana* [*Gṛhya*] *Sūtra*, in the chapter that begins with the phrase "Now, after that, the daily bath," says:

> After washing his hands and feet, holding a bunch of *kuśa* grass,[173] his hair
> tied in a knot, wearing the sacred thread, and having performed *ācamana*…

The commentary on the *Sūtra* explains this passage thus: "Since wearing the sacred thread at a daily ritual is a given,[174] the apparently tautological phrase "wearing the sacred thread" is here meant to prevent the bather from wearing a second garment.[175] Consequently, the Vājasaneyins distinguish themselves by wearing a single garment, whereas the others wear two.[176] That being the case,[177] Śūdras should similarly distinguish themselves, depending on the specific sub-castes they belong to.

Parāśara says:

[171] Not in our editions of Manu.
[172] Also not in Manu.
[173] The edition has *apagrahe*, a misreading for *apagraho*.
[174] "Is a given" is not a satisfactory translation for *prāpta*. It really means that something is already established by another *vidhi* (scriptural injunction) or by nature, and therefore, needs no *vidhi* any more. Here, since wearing the sacred thread when taking the daily bath is established by another rule, the word *yajñopavīta* cannot just mean that he has to wear the thread. And since every single word in a *sūtra* has a meaning, the commentator comes up with one.
[175] The second garment is one that covers the upper body: he should not wear an upper body garment in addition to the thread.
[176] The *Kātyāyana Sūtra* belong to the Vājasaneyin school, i.e., the *White Yajurveda*.
[177] If wearing or not wearing an upper garment differs among the twice-born according to the school they belong to, Śūdras, too, do or do not wear a second garment depending on their specific (*upadiṣṭa*) subcaste.

Wash facing the stream where the water is flowing,
in standing water, always facing the sun.
If bathing in still water, sprinkle the feet of Brahmins,
and say the *sandhyā* prayers facing the sun.

For Vājasaneyins bathing in rivers, etc., is always done facing the sun. If this is the case, the same
104 holds for Śūdras too, depending on the specific subcaste they belong to.

The Acārya makes a distinction when bathing at home:

At home, he should bathe facing the house, elsewhere, facing the sun.
The best of the twice-born should bathe facing a flowing current.
Let him pour into a vessel cold water, *kuśa* grass, then warm water.
During bathing at home he should avoid sipping, libations to the *pitṛs*,
wringing out clothes, and splashing water with a cupped hand.
In bathing at home, he should not make libations or wipe with *kuśa* grass.
Don't make libations during it; after doing so, sipping purifies.
Bathing without a seat or standing on stone—
the best of the twice-born always avoid these things at home.
After bathing, the twice-born should take off his wet garment upward.
if he takes it off downward, bathing again purifies him.

According to the statement in the *Chandogapariśiṣṭa* "if at home, without mantras," one should do the daily bath unaccompanied by Vedic verses. Others say with a few verses.

Manu gives an exception to bathing with warm water:

On days of death, birth, zodiacal transit, *śrāddha*, birthdays,
and contact with the untouchable one should not bath with warm water.
He who bathes with warm water on the full or new moon,
you can be sure, commits a sin equal to killing a cow.

105 The views prevailing among the various schools of the Veda with regard to the necessity for Vedic verses when bathing are described in the *Govindārṇava.* They can be consulted there.

Viṣṇu makes a distinction:

Bathing with Vedic verses is accepted only for Brahmins, Kṣatriyas, and Vaiśyas,
but silence for Śūdras and women, joy of the Kurus.

"Silence" means without Vedic and *smārta* verses.

But Madanapāla reads the text as:

Bathing with Vedic verses is accepted for Brahmins, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas;
but only silence with the *namaskāra mantra* is allowed for Śūdras.

and attributes it to Yājñavalkya,[178] commenting that "silence" means that since the prohibition of duties with ś*rauta* and *smārta* verses is a given, the *namaskāra mantra* is allowed with just the

[178] This text appears in neither the *Viṣṇu* nor *Yājñavalkya Smṛti*.

"namaḥ" only. The *namaskāra mantra* is also allowed for smearing the limbs with earth or dung, which is accepted by people of good conduct.[179] For this reason, the mantras beginning with "aś-vakrānta" (TA 10.1.8) are excluded. Thus, bathing with Vedic mantras, the procedures of which are described by Manu, Katyāyana, *et al*., are the concern of the twice-born.

In the *Śrīdattāhnikā* and other texts, it is said that "silence" means only Vedic mantras are prohibited, not Purāṇic ones. Therefore, the manner of bathing in the *Padma Purāṇa* is common to women, Śūdras, and twice-born unversed in the Vedas.

The author of the *Kalpataru* also says that a Śudra is qualified to recite Purāṇic mantras as part
106 of the ritual. Others, however, are of the opinion that Purāṇic mantras should be recited by Brahmins only and a Śūdra should just say "namaḥ" himself.

And, in the same way, he may perform bathing with water drawn or not drawn from a well.

> Let the learned knower of scripture ritually prepare the *tīrtha*
> by uttering the root *mantra* "namo Nārāyaṇa,"
> holding *kuśa* grass in his hand, sipping water
> according to the rules, pure, and silent.
> After ritually preparing a square four hands in size,
> let the clear-sighted invoke Gaṅgā with these mantras:
> You are Vaiṣṇavī, born from the feet of Viṣṇu, adored by Viṣṇu.
> Preserve us from sin until the end of birth and death.
> Vāyu said that there are 35 million *tīrtha*s
> in heaven, earth and sky and they are all yours, daughter of Jahnu.
> Nandanī is your name, or Nalinī among the gods,
> Nandā, Pṛthvī, and Subhagā, Visvakāyā, Śivā,
> Sitā, Vidyādharī, Suprasannā, and Lokaprasādinī,
> Kṣema, and Jāhnavī, Śāntā, and Śāntapradāyinī.
> These are the sacred names to extol at bathing time.
> Among them, include Gaṅgā Tripathagāminī.
> 107 One should pour water held in the hollow of the hand
> on the head three, four, five, or seven times.
> One should bathe with earth, wiping it off in the way prescribed.

This entire ritual is, in fact, done at midday, but may be done even at the morning bath because it is the same.

As for the text that runs, "abbreviated form at the morning bath, the rite with Vedic verses at noon," this is for those who keep a sacred fire at home.

Similarly, in the *Chandogapariśiṣṭa*, Kātyāyana says:

> Because there is little time for sacrifice and much for bathing,
> don't protract bathing in the morning; the time for sacrifice is infringed.

[179] *śiṣṭācāra*.

A Śūdra should perform his domestic ritual according to the branch of the Veda in which the Brahmin who instructs him is versed; according to his *gotra* alone should he practice. But if he is not instructed in any particular one, he should follow the Vājasaneyi rite, and the *gotra* shall be Kāśyapa.

The Procedure of Bathing

At the prescribed time, go to the bank of a river or some body of water, with earth, cow-dung,
dūrvā and *kuśa* grass, flowers, sesame, barley, and a pair of clean garments. Place the earth and
other things in a clean spot you have washed. Then wash your hands and feet with the earth and
water. Sip water and take a handful of good *kuśa* grass. If one has a *śikhā*, tie it and tuck the hem
of the lower garment into the waist. Wearing two garments, not one, not more, nor garments worn
by another to the extent one is able, with half-garments covered by the upper, outer garment, face
108 east or north and do reverence to the *tīrtha*. Reverence Varuṇa as Lord of Water. Enter the water
and submerge yourself once. Do *ācamana*, then *prāṇāyāma* without mantras. Meditate on Viṣṇu,
and make a vow that "I will do such-and-such a bath at a such-and-such a *tīrtha*." Submerge your-
self in the river once or thrice as instructed, facing the current, but in any other body of water, such
as a tank, facing the sun.

In the *Padma Purāṇa,* however, the rule is:

After making a vow, prepare a square *tīrtha* with "namo Nārāyaṇa," and invoke Gaṅgā with "namo namaḥ." The mantras beginning with "You were born from the feet of Viṣṇu," are to be recited by Brahmins. Others say by oneself. Then, while saying the root *mantra*, plunge into and come out of the water three times and pour *añjalis* of water on the head with the root *mantra*. When bathing with things like earth and cow-dung, make three parts. Say "namaḥ" and daub the head with one part of the earth. Say "namaḥ" and cover the body below the navel with the second part. Then smear the limbs with the dung as before saying "*namaḥ*." At once immerse yourself in the water and rise. Perform *ācamana*. To remove the mud and dung on the limbs, face the current or the sun and immerse the whole body completely for three or twelve times while chanting the

namaḥ mantra for the removal of sin.[180] Come out of the water. Repeat three or twelve times according to the branch of the Vedas and do *tarpaṇa*.

Then as follows:

As before, sip water, face the east or north, pronounce the *namaḥ* mantra, and say as instructed:

109 "I will gratify the gods;" "may the gods be gratified;" or, "let the gods be gratified." Offer three *añjalis* of water with the tips of the fingers, while wearing the sacred thread around the neck like a garland. Pronounce the *nama* mantra and say, "I will gratify the Ṛṣis," or, "may the Ṛṣis be gratified." Offer two each or three *añjalis* with the part of the hand below the small finger. Face south with the sacred thread over the right shoulder, pronounce the *namaḥ* mantra, and say, "I will gratify the fathers: "may the fathers be gratified." Offer three *añjalis* with the part of the hand between the forefinger and thumb. Then, sip water twice; put on the two garments; sip again; make a *tilaka* (whose character is described later); say "namaḥ;" bow to Sūrya; with *kuśa* grass and unhulled rice mixed in a copper bowl, give *arghya* to Sūrya; wring out the clothing; sip water; fall prostate like a staff to the Great Deceased. Then go home.

Viṣṇu says that the midday bath is the same:

> Having bathed he should give *tarpaṇa* to the gods
> and manes still standing in the water in his wet clothes.
> If he has changed into dry clothes, he should go up on bank of the *tīrtha*. V 61.24-25

Śātātapa says that:

> After bathing,[181] the twice-born should give *tarpaṇa* in purity everyday
> to the gods, sages, and fathers, in that order.

Since the term "twice-born" is used here as referring to their precedence, it does not exclude others.

> One should always be silent during bathing, worship of the gods,
> *homa*, *tarpaṇa* for the ancestors, recitation of the Vedas, and *japa.*

110 Yogi Yājñavalkya says:

> The twice-born should wear more than one garment when he performs bathing,
> giving, *japa, homa*, recitation, *tarpaṇa*, and the rites of *śrāddha* and *bhojana*.

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[180] *Aghamarṣaṇa*, "driving out sin," together with RV hymn 10.190, is an element of *sandhyā*, but appears not to be what is meant here. Kane (1974): II, pt. 1, 317. Another example, perhaps, of the de-vedification of Vedic rituals for devotional purposes.
[181] Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa does not always use *snātaka* in its technical sense of "initiate," but simply as one who has bathed. See also SAS 100 and 113. This may be part of the process we see in the SAS of refashioning Vedic terms, reserving the technical sense, to make them more available as the general language of devotion and ritual open to Śūdras without strictly *dvija* reference.

When he does *tarpaṇa* in a dry place, after bathing by the rule described above, he should put on two washed garments.

Yogi Yājñavalkya likewise says:

> After bathing and putting on two spotlessly clean garments,
> wash the lower body with earth and water, and then the hands.
> If a washed garment is not available, clothe oneself doubly
> with hemp, silk, or wool ones, a goat-hair blanket, or a meditator's shawl.
> A man must not wring out the clothes in which he has bathed.
> until he has given *tarpaṇa* to the gods, sages, and ancestors.
> Whoever wrings out his clothes before *tarpaṇa*,
> his ancestors, gods, and sages go without hope.

In the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*:

> Right after bathing one must rub off one's limbs with an empty hand,
> but not shake out the hair or clothing.

To remove water from the hair and beard, wrap the head in another cloth.

111 Likewise, in the *Mahābhārata:*

> Washed with fragrance and sweet-smelling water,
> he got a loosely-fitted turban like a royal swan
> and wrapped it round his head to dry the water.
> MB 7.58.10cd + app. n.10

Meaning, he wrapped it on his head in such a way that it was soft and loose.

Manu says:

> White clothing is accepted for a Brahmin, strong red for a lord,
> yellow for a Vaiśya, and dark like dirt for a Śūdra.

"Dark like dirt" means black.

The Rule for Sectarian Marks[182]

> Place Keśava on the forehead, Nārāyaṇa on the stomach,
> Mādhava on the heart, and Govinda on the navel.[183]
> Viṣṇu is placed on the right side of the abdomen,
> and Madhusūdana on the left side,
> Meditate on Trivikrama on the throat area, Vāmana on left side of the belly,
> Śrīdhara on the left shoulder, Hṛsīkeśa on the right.
> Padmanābha on the back, and Dāmodara on the hollow of the back,
> These are the twelve names.

[182] See Kane II: 672-674.

[183] This seems to be not the placing of physical marks, but *nyāsa*, "mentally invoking deities and holy texts into parts of the body." Kane (1974) II. pt. 1, 319.

At the time of *pūjā*, *homa*, and in the morning and evening,
pronouncing the names with an alert mind,
he should place the marks as prescribed and Vasudeva on the head.
112 Even an unclean man, sinful in conduct and thought,
becomes pure by wearing a vertical mark;
a horizontal mark is with white clay and a vertical one with sandal, as preferred.

In the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* it is said:

A Brahmin should make a vertical mark, a Kṣatriya a triple mark,
There is a half-moon mark for the Vaiśya and a circle for the Śūdra *jātis*. BmP 3.38

That Śūdras do not do Vedic morning and evening prayers was explained already.

The Rules for *Brahmayajña*
included among the five daily acts of devotion

The *Chandoga Pariśiṣṭa* tells us the right time for it:

He should do *brahmayajña* before *tarpaṇa* or after the morning *agnihotra* offering,
or at the conclusion of *viśvadeva*, not on other occasions.

Here the second alternative "after the morning offering," is the concern of the twice-born. *Agnihotra* is not possible for them, since Śūdras do not keep Vedic fires. Hence, they have the alternatives of "after *tarpaṇa* and at the conclusion of the *viśvadeva*."

Yājñavalkya says:

He should study the *Vedas*, *Atharva*, *Purāṇas*, *Itihāsas*, and spiritual science
to his utmost to attain perfection in recitation and sacrifice. Y 1.101

The same author says here regarding the unqualified Śūdra:

He should not neglect to perform the five devotional acts
of a householder with the *namaskāra mantra*. Y 1.121

Baudhāyana says:

Next, sipping some water, holding blades of *darbha* grass, he sits facing east.
B 2.8.11

113 How to do *Brahmayajña*

After bathing, at the prescribed time, he prepares to sit down facing east; sips water; resolves to offer *brahmayajña*; rinses his mouth; sits on *darbha* grass with its blades pointing east; fills a hand with *darbha*;

takes other *darbha* in his fist; makes a lap sitting in the lotus position, or with his hands and feet stretched out, depending on the teachings of his school; repeats trice or more the mantra *namo namaḥ*; recites his preferred *brahmayajña*; lets go of the *darbha*; rinses his mouth; and sips water. In addition, a Śūdra has the alternative of performing the *brahmayajña* by reciting those texts, *stotra*s, and the like, which the Purāṇas explicitly allow him to say.

Tarpaṇa[184]

Śātātapa says:

> The householder who has finished his studies is to offer *tarpaṇa*
> in purity daily to the gods and sages, and ancestors successively.

He speaks of the offence in non-performance:

> He who does not give *tarpaṇa* to the deities, fathers, and *munis*
> is indebted to them all and goes down to hell.

114 Manu says:

> *Tarpaṇa* is always for all four *varṇas*;
> therefore he should perform it for the fathers and gods for self-purification.[185]

In the *Skanda Purāṇa*:

> A wife should do *tarpaṇa* daily for her husband and also for his father
> and grandfather with *kuśa*, sesame, and water preceded by their names, *gotra*, etc.

This is when he has no son, etc.

Aṅgiras:

> One should not do *mārjana*, *tarpaṇa*, or *śrāddha* when it is raining.
> The dullard who does so goes to a terrible hell.

Śaṅkha-Likhita:

> Don't give *tarpaṇa* to the fathers on a brick altar.

In the *Kūrma Purāṇa*:

> Give *tarpaṇa* to the gods and Brahmarṣis with unhusked grain and water,

The "unhusked grain" is barley-corn or rice.

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[184] From √ *tṛp*, a water libation offered daily to *deva*s, *ṛṣi*s, *pitṛ*s, and *bhūta*s that "refreshes" or "satiates" them. See Kane 2.1.689-695 for details.
[185] Not in Manu.

to the fathers with black sesame, following the rule in one's own Gṛhyasūtra.

KP 2.18.85

Gobhila says:

> When doing *tarpaṇa* the twice-born always offers white sesame to the gods,
> speckled sesame to men, and black sesame to the fathers.

115 Yogi Yājñavalkya makes a distinction here:

> If he is pouring well water, he should mix the sesame seeds in the water;
> otherwise, pour them with the left hand, then offer *tarpaṇa*.[186]

In another *smṛti*:

> Pour sesame seeds in the left hand and offer *tarpaṇa* in the water,
> never on dry ground, on a cloth, in a vessel, or on the forearm.[187]

This means that one should not place it on the left forearm.

Similarly, Marīci too says:

> Offer it with an open hand without a *mūdra*;
> take sesame in the left hand, leaving the right hand free.
> If sesame is unavailable, gold or silver;
> if that is unavailable, pour it with *darbha* grass or with a *mantra*.

And:

> Without silver, without gold, and red sesame,
> without *darbha* grass and Vedic verse, do not approach the ancestral fathers.

Satyavrata says:

> *Tarpaṇa* is offered to the fathers with a pearl- or iron-ringed hand,
> gems, gold, or *darbha* grass; never with an impure hand.[188]

116 Manu says:

> Even water offered to them with a generous spirit in vessels made
> of silver or inlaid with silver leads to an imperishable reward.[189]

M 3.202

Yogi Yājñavalkya says:

> A man is purified by gold on the ring finger, silver on the forefinger,
> and iron on the little finger.[190]

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[186] Not in Yājñavalkya.
[187] Nirmala Kulkarni suggested "forearm" for the text's *romamūla*, but it is unclear what this is.
[188] The edition has *na śuddhena kadācana*, "never with a pure hand," in *pāda* d, which makes no sense. The *Smṛti-candrikā* (II: 514) has *nāśuddhena*. Nirmala Kulkarni suggested "never with an empty (*śūnyena*) hand.
[189] This is Olivelle's translation. He translates *śrāddhayā* here as "with a generous spirit" rather than "faith." See his note on 3.202 the reason. *The Law Code of Manu* (2004): 247.

Pitāmaha:

Don't use an earthen cup for *tarpaṇa* to the ancestral fathers,
but one made of gold, silver, or copper.

Śaṅkha says :

Touching the *pitṛtīrtha*, he should offer water with a vessel
made of gold, silver, *udumbara* wood, or a vessel of rhinoceros horn.[191]

Vyāsa:

The gods receive one *añjali* each, Sanaka and the other sages, two each,
the Fathers, three each, and the Mothers, one each.

Śālaṅkāyana states in the *Smṛticandrikā* that:

Give the three primary Mothers three libations each,
and to the others give one libation each;
give two libations each to the wives of Ācāryas.[192]

117 In the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*:

One must sprinkle water thrice to satisfy the gods,
likewise for the Ṛṣis, as stands to reason, and once for Prajāpati.[193]
VP 3.11.28abc

Yama prescribes the way to give *tarpaṇa*:

Join your hands together and fill them with a libation of water;
raising it up just an ox-horn, toss it in the water.

Dakṣa explains the meaning of "ox-horn:"

Raising it just a "span," with sesame, facing east, refresh the gods,
facing north, men, and facing south, the fathers.

Hārīta:

Do *tarpaṇa*, *ācamana,* and *japa* in the water with wet clothes,
and on dry ground in dry clothes.

Kārṣṇājini makes a distinction for *tarpaṇa* in the water:

Give libations of water to the deities and fathers in water.
Give libations to those deceased without the sacraments on dry ground.

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190 Not in Yājñavalkya.

191 This verse has problems. *Khaḍga* is rhinoceros horn or iron. *Pitṛtīrthaspṛg* is unclear or corrupt. According to Monier-Williams, a *pitṛtīrtha* is the *tīrtha* of the fathers, i.e., Gayā, or the base of the thumb sacred to the *pitṛ*s in *ācamana*. Here, it is most likely the later, although Nirmala Kulkarni suggested "the pilgrim reaching Gayā."

192 Not yet located in the *Smṛticandrikā.*

193 In *pāda* d, the text has *prajāyate*, which seems to be a misreading. The critical edition has the more probable *pra-jāpateḥ,* "for Prajāpati."

But the *Yogayājñavalkya* says that where the ground is unclean, all should exclusively receive *tarpaṇa* in the water:

Or, when the ground is impure, one must give *tarpaṇa*
to the deities and fathers in the water.
If one so wishes, all *tarpaṇa* may be given in the water.

118 Satyavrata says:

Wearing the sacred thread over the left shoulder, give *tarpaṇa* to the gods;
then, around the neck to exalted human beings, the sons of Brahmins, and Ṛṣis.
Next, wearing it over the right shoulder, while kneeling on the ground on the left knee,
and holding a bunch of *kuśa* grass, give *tarpaṇa* to the deceased. [194]

The *Vṛddha Yājñavalkya* says:

Invariably pronouncing the words "May he be refreshed,"
or, "May they be refreshed,"
let the one learned in ritual cast water for the gods, and so on.

And he also says:

In all four *varṇas* fathers receive *tarpaṇa* by the *gotra* name of the father,
girls by the *gotra* of the father, married women by the *gotra* of the husband.

Paiṭhīnasi on *tarpaṇa* to be given to fathers says:

With the sacred thread over the right shoulder, facing the south quarter,
give *tarpaṇa* to the divine and non-divine fathers.

The divine fathers are the *Vasus*, *Rudras*, and *Ādityas*; the non-divine are people such as one's own father. The same author also says the manner in which to do it is this:

Call out the name and *gotra* of each person,
and throw three *añjalis* of sesame and water for each.

The order of those to whom *tarpaṇa* is to be given is as follows:

Father, grandfather, great-grandfather, mother, grandmother, and great-grandmother;
mother of half-brothers; the three maternal ancestors beginning with the grandfather
119 and their wives; wives and children, etc.; uncles and brothers with their wives,
aunts and sisters with their children and husbands; father-in-law; honored guru;
students and friends. These are the persons when *Mahālaya śrāddha* is performed
at a *tīrtha* and for *tarpaṇa*.

[194] One is *upavīta* when wearing the sacred thread over the left shoulder and under the right arm for rites for the gods and sacrifice. One raises the right arm to pass it under, which is why Manu says "When the right arm is raised, a twice-born is called *upavīta*." One is *nivīta* when wearing it around the neck like a garland for ritual acts of a human character, e.g., excretion, intercourse, and the sacraments. One wears the cord over the right shoulder for ancestral rites. Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa uses the phrase *apasavyam kṛtvā*, "not wearing the sacred thread over the left." Manu uses *prācīnāvīta*, raising the right arm and "wearing the sacred thread to the east." See Manu 2.63.

How to do *Tarpaṇa*

Sip water, restrain the breath, announce time and place, and vow "I will give *tarpaṇa* to the *pitṛs* and gods." Sit facing east with the sacred thread over the left shoulder, holding barley and blades of *kuśa* grass by the tips, and give *tarpaṇa* to the gods with the *devatīrtha* part of the hand. Facing north with the sacred thread around the neck, holding *kuśa* grass by the middle with white sesame, give *tarpaṇa* to the saints with the *prajāpatitīrtha* part of the hand. Facing south with the sacred thread over the right shoulder, holding *kuśa* grass doubled in two at the bottom with black sesame, give *tarpaṇa* to the *pitṛs*. People may also follow this order:

> The gods receive one libation each, Sanaka et al. two each,
> the *pitṛs* three each, and their wives one each.

Some say three libations without distinction.

For Vājasaneyins and for Śūdras instructed in the rite of that school, the order is as follows: After *tarpaṇa* for the set of paternal *pitṛs* comes the set of maternal ancestors, then the set of mothers. The set of *pitṛs*, the set of mothers, then the set of maternal ancestors is regarded as the correct order for followers of other branches of the Veda and Śūdras instructed in them. Different deities are also to be given *tarpaṇa* in the various branches. This difference holds both for their followers and Śūdras instructed in them. They should follow the rite as laid down in each.

120 All this is to be ascertained from their respective Kalpasūtras. I will only quote the view of the Baudhāyana school: "While wearing the sacred thread over the left, I refresh the gods and goddesses beginning with Brahma, and I refresh all the hosts of the gods.'" This is *tarpaṇa* for the gods.

Next, "Wearing the sacred thread around the neck, I refresh the Ṛṣis beginning with Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana. I refresh all the wives of the *Ṛṣis*. I refresh all the sons of the Ṛṣis. I refresh all the grandsons of the Ṛṣis. I refresh all the hosts of the Ṛṣis." This is *tarpaṇa* for the Ṛṣis.

"Wearing the sacred thread over the right shoulder 'I refresh the *pitṛs*, who are Soma, Pitṛmat, Yama, Aṅgirasvat, the Agniṣvāttas, the Barhiṣads, and the Kavyavāhanas.[195] I refresh all the *pi*-

[195] These are the names of primeval ancestors and classes of ancestors included in the offerings of *tarpaṇa*. See Manu 3.192. Soma is the ancestor of the Saumyas. The Agniṣvāttas are a set of Brahmin ancestors who neglected Vedic sacrifice. The

tṛs. Namaḥ. I refresh all the wives of the *pitṛ*s. Namaḥ. I refresh all the sons of the *pitṛs.* Namaḥ. I refresh all the grandsons of the *pitṛs*. Namaḥ. I refresh all the companies of *pitṛs*. I refresh my father, the *dāsa* of so-and-so, whose *gotra* was so-and-so, and who has attained the form of Vasu. I refresh my grandfather, the *dāsa* of so-and-so, whose gotra was so-and-so, and who has attained the form of Rudra. I refresh my great-grandfather, the *dāsa* of so-and-so, whose *gotra* was so-and-so, and who has attained the form of Āditya. I refresh my mother, the *dāsa* of so-and-so, whose *gotra* was so-and-so, and who has attained the form of Vasu. I refresh my grandmother, the *dāsa* of so-and-so, whose *gotra* was so-and-so, and who has attained the form of Rudrā. I refresh my great-grandmother, the *dāsa* of so-and-so, whose *gotra* was so-and-so, and who has attained the form of Ādityā. I refresh my maternal grandfather, the *dāsa* of so-and-so, whose *gotra* was so-
121 and-so, and who has attained the form of Vasu. I refresh my maternal grandfather , the *dāsa* of so-and-so, whose *gotra* was so-and-so, and who has attained the form of Rudra. I refresh my mother's grandfather, the *dāsa* of so-and-so, whose *gotra* was so-and-so, and who has attained the form of Rudra. I refresh my mother's great-grandfather, the *dāsa* of so-and-so, whose *gotra* was so-and-so, and who has attained the form of Āditya. I refresh my grandmother, the *dāsa* of so-and-so, whose *gotra* was so-and-so, and who has attained the form of Vasu. I refresh my mother's grandmother, the *dāsa* of so-and-so, whose *gotra* was so-and-so, and who has attained the form of Rudrā. I refresh my mother's great-grandmother, the *dāsa* of so-and-so, whose *gotra* was so-and-so, and who has attained the form of Ādityā."

Then, after giving *tarpaṇa* to gurus and friends because of their special closeness, one should offer three libations of water while repeating these verses:

> May the gods, sages, and human beings,
> up to the world of Brahma, be refreshed,
> all the *pitṛs*, the mother, the maternal grandfather, and the rest.
> May this water and sesame be for the *koṭis* of families past,
> living on the seven continents, from the world of humans
> up to that of Brahma.

On this topic some say that, as there are many views about *tarpaṇa* in the different schools of the Veda as well as a plurality of schools and an unlimited number of local traditions and cus-

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Barhiṣads are the sons of Atri and ancestors of demonic classes of beings. The Kavyavāhanas or Kāvyas are another class of Brahmin ancestors.

toms, the best form of *tarpaṇa* for Śūdras is that presented in the Purāṇa*s* in which old dharmas specifically for women and Śūdras are set forth.

Among these, the form of *tarpaṇa* described in the *Padma Purāṇa* is outlined thus: I refresh Brahma. I refresh Viṣṇu. I refresh Rudra. I refresh the gods. I refresh the Nāgas. I refresh the
122 Gandharvas, the Apsarases, the Asuras, and the Suparṇas. I refresh the trees, evil spirits, birds, creatures of the air and water, and denizens of the heavens. I refresh beings without abode who are attached to the good. I refresh beings without abode who are attached to the bad. This is *tarpaṇa* for the gods.

Easterners say that, after refreshing Brahma, Rudra, Viṣṇu, and Prajāpati one by one with a libation each of water, then mentally recite the following verses:

> Gods, Yakṣas, Nāgas. Gandharvas, Apsarases, Asuras,
> evil spirits, serpents, Suparṇas,[196] spirits in the sky, birds,
> creatures of the air and water, denizens of the heavens,
> beings without abode who are attached to the bad and good,
> to them I give this water and sesame for their refreshment.

PP Sṛṣṭi Khaṇḍa 20.56-58

Pronounce "namaḥ," and offer a libation for each, one by one.

Next, they say that wearing the sacred thread around the neck, facing north, and pouring with the *prajāpatitīrtha* part of the hand, give *tarpaṇa* to the *Ṛṣis* and sages.

Then, after saying "namaḥ," with *kuśa* grass in the middle, mentally recite:

> Sanaka, Sananda, and Sanātana the third,
> Kapila, Asuri, Voḍhu, and Pañcaśikha,[197]
> may they all be refreshed forever by this water I give.

PP Sṛṣṭi Khaṇḍa 20.29-30

He should repeat "namaḥ" and offer a libation for each.

123 But others say that one should give a *tarpaṇa* of two libations each one by one from Sanaka to Pañcaśikha. "I refresh Sanaka. May Sanaka be refreshed. Let him be refreshed," and so on. Then give *tarpaṇa* to Marīci, Atri, Aṅgiras, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu, Pracetas, Vasiṣtha, Bhṛgu, Nārada, [gods] and Brahmaṛṣis, in that order.[198]

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[196] Suparṇas are large-winged birds of prey like eagles and vultures and mythical or supernatural birds like Garuḍa.
[197] All of the seers mentioned here and on the next page are the variously numbered mind-born sons of Brahmā, who are reverenced as the progenitors of sundry classes of *pitṛ*s.
[198] "Gods" is a suspect reading, probably to be omitted.

Next, facing south with the sacred thread over the right shoulder, kneeling on the left knee, holding *kuśa* grass bent in two, give *tarpaṇa* with the *pitṛtīrtha* part of the hand to the *pitṛs*: the Agniṣvāttas, the Somapas, the Haviṣmats, the Ūṣmapas, the Sukālins, the Barhiṣads, the Ājyapas.[199]

Tarpaṇa for One's Ancestors

This should be done according to the school of the Veda in which one has been taught. Some say that, in this case, nothing prevents interchange of the name and *gotra*. Some scriptural texts do not mention the attribution of the form of Vasu, Rudra, or Āditya. "I refresh my father of such-and-such *dāsa* name and such-and-such *gotra* in his form as Vasu. Namaḥ." In like manner, characterizing the grandfather as Rudra and the great-grandfather as Āditya is proper.

And when giving *tarpaṇa* to females. "I refresh my mother of such-and-such *dāsa* name and such-and-such *gotra* in her form as Vasu. Namaḥ." Similarly, characterize the paternal grandmother as the feminine form of Rudra and the paternal great-grandmother as the feminine form of Āditya.

Similarly, giving *tarpaṇa* in this way to the maternal ancestors, out of kindness also give *tarpaṇa* to the father's other wives and to paternal and maternal uncles.[200]

124 Then, praying to oneself:

> Those who are not kin or who were kin in another life or in another way,
> may they, and all who desire it from us, have contentment.

pronounce "namaḥ" and give three *añjalis*.

Then, while praying the following verse silently to oneself, wring out your clothes:

> And those who were born in our family, but died without sons,
> may they accept this water wrung from my clothes.

Next, one should dispose of the *kuśa* grass used for *tarpaṇa*:

> The *darbha* grass used for reciting the Veda, offering *pitṛtarpaṇa*,

[199]According to Manu (3.194-200), Somapas are the sons of Bhṛgu and the *soma*-drinking ancestors of Brahmins. Haviṣmats are the sons of Aṅgiras. Ājyapas, "ghee drinkers," are the sons of the seer Pulastya and the ancestors of Vaiśyas. Sukālins are the sons of Vasiṣṭha and the ancestors of Śūdras. Ūṣmapa is the generic term for a kind of a ancestor who lives on the steam and vapor of sacrifice.

[200] *gurupatnī*: an uncertain term translated here as "father's other wives."

and excreting urine and faeces, these should be disposed of,

according to the text of Āpastamba:

> The darbha used on an altar, on the road, for Vedic study,
> for *tarpaṇa* to the fathers, strewing an altar, seating, or offering
> *piṇḍas*: these seven *kuśa* grasses should not be used again.[201]

Dispose of them with the sacred thread over the left shoulder, facing east or north, and not as *pitṛdharma* or addressing the *pitṛs.* But other texts quote this *mantra*:

> Our fathers, who have gone among the thickets and trees,
> may they all have contentment with this good *kuśa* grass I leave.

They say the disposal within is *pitṛdharma*, because it is a rite for *pitṛs*. And, as before, there is the *tarpaṇa* of the gods and seers for one whose father is alive. The difference is said to be that libations with black sesame and a silver vessel are forbidden for it. The Kavyavāhas, Barhiṣads, and the divine *pitṛs* must receive *tarpaṇa* thus: "I refresh the Kavyavāhas, Anala,[202] Soma, Aryaman,[203] Agniṣvātthas, the Somapas, and the Barhiṣads."

But when the father is not entitled to give *tarpaṇa* due to his loss of caste and the like, the son himself should give *tarpaṇa* to the same persons his father would. Some require also libations to Yama for this. For the divinities, offer a libation to Yama as you pronounce the name of each while wearing the sacred thread over the left shoulder, facing east, kneeling on the right knee, and holding straight blades of *darbha* grass and barley. In the case of the *pitṛs*, give three libations, pronouncing each name while facing south, wearing the sacred thread over the right shoulder, and holding *kuśa* grass bent in two and black sesame. Saying: "Namaḥ. I refresh Yama, Dharmarāja, Mṛtyu, Antaka, Vaivasvata, Kāla, Sarvabhūtakṣaya, Audumbara, Daghna, Nīla, Parameṣṭhin, Vṛkodara, Citra, Citragupta, Ravi."[204] Reverence each one by one with "namaḥ" and pour a libation.

Some only accept Yama *tarpaṇa* on the 14th of Divali*,* others on Tuesday the 14th. Still others on the 14th in the dark half of the lunar month. Some also favor everyday when giving daily *tar-*

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[201] Not in Āpastamba.
[202] One of the eight Vasus.
[203] One of the Ādityas, invoked as chief of the manes.
[204] Names and forms of Yama, the God of Death. Citragupta is his scribe. Alain Danielou, *Myths and Gods of India* (Rochester: Inner Traditions, 1991): 132-35. The translatable epithets are: King of Dharma, Lord of Death, Mortality, Time, Destroyer of All Beings, the Black, Terminator, Recorder of Deeds, Devouring Wolf-belly, and Radiant Sun.

paṇa. Some approve it only during *tarpaṇa* to the gods. Others hold that after *tarpaṇa* for the *pitṛs*, there is *tarpaṇa* for Yama by one with a living father and also by one with a dead father.

After giving *tarpaṇa* in this manner:

> To Yama, Dharmarāja, Mṛtyu, and Antaka,
> Vaivasvata, Kāla, Sarvabhutakṣaya,
> 126 Audumbara, Daghna, Nīla, Parameṣṭhin,
> Vṛkodara, Citra, Citragupta, reverence.

pray quietly to oneself, say "namaḥ," and give one or three libations.

Short *Tarpaṇa*

> While saying "let the world from Brahma to a blade of grass
> be refreshed," give three libations. This is short *tarpaṇa*.[205]

In the case of *tarpaṇa* out of the water on the banks of *tīrtha*s, etc., wearing a washed garment and sitting down on the bank, toss the water in a clean place. If there is no clean place, toss it in the water. One may put *tarpaṇa* water on the mounds of those deceased without the sacraments. In the case of *tarpaṇa* with water drawn from a well, put the sesame seeds in the vessel and give *tarpaṇa* to the *pitṛs*. Then throw the *tarpaṇa* water on ground covered with *kuśa* grass or in a copper vessel. Pour the water for the *pitṛs* in a big vessel of iron or some such thing. Hold it by the part of the hand with which a libation is poured. When giving *tarpaṇa* to the *pitṛs*, do not do hold the thumb in. One who has not given *tarpaṇa* should not wring out his bathing clothes. Don't throw *darbha* grass in the water. One who has not done *tarpaṇa* should not pass over flowing water. These are the rules for *tarpaṇa*.

127[206] Next, sip water and worship the six deities, Brahma, Viṣṇu, Rudra, Savitṛ, Mitra, and Varuṇa, with an *añjali* of flowers and six mantras ending with *namaḥ*.

Next, worship Sūrya with *namaḥ* and an upraised arm.

Next, worship the gods of the ten directions with mantras including their name going round from left to right, saluting each with *namaḥ* and sit down.

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[205] Unattributed verse.

[206] Page 127 of the edition is strange. The strangeness is due to the fact that it is inserted at the end of the section on *tarpaṇa* and before the section on *pūjā*, bridging them. The Vedic deities are invoked in a *pūjā*-like manner and given *arghya*, illustrating the popularizing synthesis of theistic devotion and Vedic ritual that comes to be typical of late Dharmaśāstra texts.

Next, worship Brahma, Agni, Pṛthivī, the herbs of the earth, Vāc, Vācaspati, Viṣṇu, Mahat, the Great Ones, and the Lord of Water, Varuṇa, with flowers and unhusked grain in the water and *namaḥ* mantras. Then rub the head with the same water saying the words "Honor to Tvaṣṭṛ."

Bid farewell to them with this verse:

O Gods who came here, go each to your place.

Next, prepare an eight-petaled lotus mixed with sandalwood and invoke Sūrya with the mantra that begins:

Reverence to Vivasvat, Brahman, the Radiant, All-pervading Brilliance,
Light of the World, Savitṛ, the Energy of the World.

Adore him with red sandalwood, unhusked grain, and flowers. Reverence him with the water in a copper vessel or in the cupped hands along with things like *kuśa* grass, sesame, barley, *dūrvā* grass, red sandalwood, and blossoms, while chanting this mantra:

Come Sūrya, shining with the splendor of a thousand rays,
bend with mercy to me, O Lord of Days.

128 The Rite of *Pūjā*

If the requisites for worship are available at a *tīrtha*, then *pūjā* should be done there, otherwise at home. In the latter case, After bowing to a *tīrtha*, respectfully saluting the Brahmins there, avoiding contact with the impure, with a water bowl in hand and shoes on, go to your house. After circumambulating the cows right there, wash your hands and feet, sip water twice, bow to the deity at the right doorpost, paying honor to the Gaṇapati of the door post, touch the right door post with the right hand, and without touching the doorsill, step in right foot first.

Do reverence saying "Honor to the house and the tutelary deities." Worship Brahmā at the right pillar of the house, Nṛsiṁha at the left, and Śrī Sūrya at the middle. Then, clean, wearing your best clothes, wise, silent, meditative, free of desire, anger and so on, at the aforesaid time, worship in order Sūrya, Gaṇapati, Viṣṇu, Devī, and Mahādeva, each with their own mounts, weapons, and so on. In a clean place there, sit down facing the deity, place flowers, sandalwood, etc., on the right side, pitchers full of water, bells, etc., on the left, ghee lamps on the right, sesame oil lamps on the left, and the other paraphernalia for *pūjā* in the proper place. Holding the offering vessel filled with water in front of you, bless the water in it and sprinkle

the place and materials. Consecrate the pitcher with the *mantra* that begins, “All the seas are in the Gaṅgā and Yamunā.” Pour the water into the prepared offering vessel.

129 ## *Pīṭha* Worship[207]

Adoration to the goddesses of the *pīṭhas*, Ādhāra Śakti,[208] etc.
Adoration to the Kālas starting with Indra.[209]
Adoration to the constellations, Āditya, etc.

This is the abbreviated formula one may use. Details may be consulted in the *Āgamaśāstra*.

Then, after applying the mantras to oneself and the deity, one invokes the deity with the *mantra* ending with the name in the vocative saying,” so-and-so come here, be present here.” One then offers worship in the sixteen forms, i.e., the invitation, seat, water for washing the feet, water for reception, sipping, bathing, garments, sacred thread, fragrances, flowers, incense, lamps, food, bowing, circumambulation, and send off, with the different mantras specifying “to this seat for so-and-so.” If such things as garments are not available, one may mentally visualize them and adore the deity with water. The particular things proper to do in this case can be known from the different rules.

But in the *Nāradīya Purāṇa* it is said:

One should worship Viṣṇu morning, midday, and evening
as morning and evening prayers and daily *pūjā* are said to be by the learned.
If this is impossible, worshipping Keśava in the morning in long form,
at midday and in the evening, offer a handful of flowers.
Or at midday, after feeding Hari in long or short form,
one may take food—otherwise one goes to perdition.
130 For all occasional observances at their various times one should especially
worship Viṣṇu, the Lord of Lords, with diligent preparation.

In the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṅa*:

One should worship Hari one, two, or three times daily.
The man who takes a meal without worshipping goes to the hells.

In the *Kālikā Purāṇa*:

[207] *Pīṭha* here seems to mean any altar, image, shrine or holy place of a deity rather than the 52 Śakti *pīṭha*s. *Pīṭārcanam* is more or less a synonym for *pūjā*.
[208] The basic and sustaining power of the universe. Some of the following instructions on the use of invocation, mantras, and visualization in *pūjā* have a Tantric flavor.
[209] The edition has *indrādikālebhyo namaḥ*. If this is not corrupt, it is unclear what exactly the Kālas are. *Kāla* has a range of meanings: black, time, the destroyer of the universe, Yama, and death. It can also be the Mātṛkas (divine mothers) and Durgā, but the word is masculine here.

Not honoring Śiva, Bhāskara, Agni, Keśava, and Kauśikī with one's mind,
one goes down from the world of the gods to a low destiny.

And the images of the *pañcāyatana* deities are to be given *pūjā*.[210]

In the *Padma Purāṇa*:

Āditya, Gaṇanātha, Devī, Rudra, according to order,
Nārāyaṇa the Pure, and at the end the family deity.

From this text we see that worship of Sūrya comes first.

This is what is said in the *Brahma Purāṇa*:

The gods do not want offerings of foot-water made by those beings
who worship others without first honoring Sūrya.

Note that scholars of the *Ṛg Veda* point out that the correct procedure for Śūdras is to worship Gaṇeśa first, then the Sun.

In the *Matsya Purāṇa*:

Ask Bhāskara the sun for health, ask Agni for wealth,
131 ask Maheśvara for knowledge, ask Janārdana for liberation. MP 68.41

In the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa*:

Truly, if a man honors the sun for one day,
his merit is more than if he gives a lakh of milk cows.
The pleased sun bestows security and prosperity on the man[211]
who regularly worships its light and devotedly humbles himself to it.
Surely, the seeker of liberation should sacrifice to the thousand-rayed Sun.

Similarly, discussing Durgā in the same text:

The man who always worships Durgā and bows with love
he is a yogi; he is wise and holy; he holds liberation in his hand.

In the same text regarding Śiva:

But the man who worships constantly Śiva, the lord of the three worlds,
quickly becomes a vessel of heaven, power, and liberation.

Those who observe commensality must worship the gods separately, as Aśvalāyana says:

For twice-born who take their meals together, *brahmayajña*,
agnihotra, sun worship, and *sandhyā* should always be separate.

The supporting object for their *pūjā* is described in the *Nṛsiṁha Purāṇa*.

The seers teach that correct worship of Hari is on these six supports:

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[210] "The householder should worship Āditya, Ambikā, Viṣṇu, Gaṇanātha, and Maheśvara as part of *pañcayajña*." *Saṁ-graha*. Kane II: pt. 2. 716n 1712.
[211] kṣemam ca yoga ca.

water, fire, the heart, the sun, sacred ground, and images.

132 "Hari" is a synecdoche for any image of worship. For this reason the *Śātātapa Smṛti* states:

> The gods are in earth and in water, the heart and in the sun.
> For ordinary men the gods are in the water,
> for the wise and learned the gods are in the heavens,
> for the dull-headed the gods are in wood and clods of earth,
> for the liberated man the gods are in himself.[212]

What images should be made of is described in the *Matsya Purāṇa*:

> Idols of the gods made of gold, silver, copper, gems,
> stone, wood, metal alloys, brass, copper amalgams, or fine woods
> are recommended.

This size is described thus:

> From a thumb-joint up to the span of a hand.
> The learned advise that images at home be no more.
> An image of stone should not be worshipped at home;
> in its absence wood is good.

In the *Padma Purāṇa*:

> Men who have honored Hari in the heavens, in the sun,
> in space, and on the altars of images go to the Viṣṇu plane.
> Or those who desire salvation should always honor Vāsudeva
> in the disc of a *śāligrāma* stone made of adamantine
> for that abode of Viṣṇu destroys all sin.[213]

133
> As the fire in a large piece of wood flashes out when rubbed
> so all-pervading Hari shines in the *śāligrāma*.
> He who has honored Viṣṇu in the disc made from *śāligrāma*
> has performed *agnihotra* and given the earth and sea.
> Gods, *asuras*, *yakṣas*, and the fourteen worlds
> are there where Keśava is present in the form of the *śāligrāma* stone.
> For three *yojanas* around a *śāligrāma* stone all acts of giving
> and sacrifices are ten million times more effective.
> Even an insect that dies within the sound of a *śāligrāma*
> goes to the supreme level of Viṣṇu.
> The ancestors of the man who does *śrāddha* on a *śāligrāma* stone
> rejoice in heaven for a hundred aeons.
> He who gives the most excellent gift of a *śāligrāma* stone
> has given the equivalent of the globe of the whole world
> with its mountains, forests, and groves.
> The twice-born who derives money from *śālīgrāma* stones,
> or any man who consents to its sale or permits its assay,
> goes to hell until the end of creation.
> Therefore, a Vaiśya should avoid buying and selling the disc.[214]

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212 Quoted at Kane II.2: 715.

213 *Śāligrāma* stones are ammonite fossils from the Gaṇṭakī river in the Nepali Himālayas prized by Vaiṣṇavas as an earthly representation of Viṣṇu. They are differentiated by color and markings as manifestations of his various forms and appropriate for different *varṇa*s. They are like *liṅga*s. The *Varāha Purāṇa* forbids Śūdras and women to touch them, but the *Skanda Purāṇa* says that is the case only for *asacchūdra*s and low women (SkP VI.243.46-48). Although not explicitly stated, the SAS must share the same view. S. A. Dange, *Encyclopedia of Puranic Beliefs and Practices*, IV: 1390-1397.

214 PP III.31.115-117, 120,123, 136,142-145a.

In the *Skanda Purāṇa*:

A *śāligrāma* stone is not installed like an image;[215]
134 but when doing a great ceremonial *pūjā*, a wise man offers worship to it.
Nor does it receive *āvāhana* or *visarjana*,
for the Lord is manifest in the *śāligrāma*—
Hari is not so all-pervading even in Vaikuntha or the sun.

In the *Nandi Purāṇa*:

One should not perform the four acts from consecration to send-off
on a fixed *liṅga*, a fire, water, a heart, and the disc of the sun,

In the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa*:

Crystal *liṅgas*, Your Majesty, are famed in the three worlds.
They do not receive *pratiṣṭhā*, *saṁskāra*, and *āvāhana*.
In this way alone are the forms of Śiva truly worshipped.
Two *liṅgas* and three Gaṇeśas are not to be worshipped at home;
nor should three Śaktis, nor the ten consisting of conches, fishes, etc.
Do not worship two *cakras* on the door or two Sūryas—
from their worship a householder obtains perpetual distress.

In the *Saṁgraha*, the placement of the deities is described:

Around Śambhu in the middle are Hari, Gaṇeśa, Bhūdevī, and Ravi.
Around Hari are placed Bhāsya, Nagasutā, Śaṅkara, and Gaṇeśa.
Around Ravi are placed Hara, Gaṇeśa, Aja, and Ambikā.
Around Devi are placed Viṣṇu, Hara, Ekadanta, and Ravi.
Around Lambodara are placed Iśvara, Aja, Ravi, and Āryā.
If Ambā is placed beside Śaṅkara, she is auspicious.
If they are separated, she is harmful.[216]

135 There is a variety in the number of offerings (*upacāra*) for *pūjā*: five, ten, sixteen, and eighteen. Five are as follows:

Worship in five forms begins with scents and ends with food offerings.

Ten are as follows:

The water of reception, water for bathing the feet, water for sipping, offerings of milk and honey, and scents to food offerings are the ten forms, in that order.

Sixteen are as follows:

Seats, salutation, water of reception, water for foot-bathing, sipping water,
milk and honey, bathing, garments, adornments,

[215] Emending *pratiṣṭhāne* to *pratiṣṭhānam*. These particular verses do not seem to be in the account of *śāligrama* in the *Skanda Purāṇa* (VI. 243).

[216] These are assorted names of the *pañcāyatana* deities. They are differently arranged for *pūjā* depending on which is placed in the center. The text is elliptic, if not corrupt, and was ingeniously decrypted by Manisha Phanasalkar into the perfect sets of five above. See Kane II.2: 717.

scents, flowers, pleasant incense, lamps, food, sandalwood,
are the sixteen offerings one may give in homage.

Eighteen are as follows:

Seats, invocation, water of reception, water for foot-bathing, sipping,
bathing, garments, sacred threads, ornaments, scents,
flowers, incense, *tarpaṇa* with food,
garlands, anointing, salutation with *namaḥ*, and farewell.

In the case of worship for a specific purpose, one can limit these offerings as one wishes. But for regular worship, there is no limitation.

136 In the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa*:

Pure, well-dressed, bathed, silent, devoted to meditation, without desire, fear, and strife,
free of anger and envy, reverencing the Self in scented and white clothing,
at the propitious hour, honor the gods each established on his own seat.

In the *Devī Purāṇa*:

Offerings with saffron, unhusked rice, flowers, yoghurt, *dūrvā* grass,
and sesame are proclaimed common for all the gods.
If yoghurt and *dūrvā* grass, etc., are not available, one may visualize them.

In the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa*:

If you make the full eight offerings with earth to the Sun,
you will dwell for ten thousand years in his presence.

The eight are said to be:

Water, milk, blades of *kuśa* grass, ghee, curd, honey,
red oleander, and red sandalwood,
these are the eight offerings proclaimed by Brahmā.

But in the case of Durgā:

Water, milk, blades of *kuśa* grass, barley, curd, rice,
together with white mustard, *dūrvā* grass, tumeric,
the yellow powder made from cow's urine, and honey,
these are the twelve offerings named, tiger of the Kurus.

137 In the *Skanda Purāṇa*:

The man who bathes Keśava with water in a conch shell
obtains the fruit of giving a thousand brown cows.
The man who takes *tīrtha* water in a conch and bathes Keśava
obtains the merit of a thousand brown cows.
By a mere drop of it on the twelfth day of the half-moon,
he redeems a hundred of his family.
Taking the milk of a brown cow in a conch and bathing Janārdana
he gains the fruit of ten thousand sacrifices.
He who bathes the Lord with sesame, flower blossoms, and water in a conch
quickly comes to dwell in my world.

He who puts fragrance in a conch and bathes Madhava
saying, "Reverence to Nārāyaṇa," is freed from the clasp of the womb.
What need for bathing in the Ganges does he have who worships Keśava
by waving a water-filled conch over my head.
He who puts the water for washing my feet in a conch, great seer of the
Vaiṣṇavas, and offers it mixed with sesame obtains the fruit of a *cāndrāyana* fast.
Whether from a river, tank, well, or lake,
it all becomes Gāngā water—thus says Janārdana.
The Vaiṣṇava who takes in a conch shell Viṣṇu's foot-water
138 and carries it on his head always is the greatest of ascetics.
The *tīrthas* in the three worlds, at the command of Vasudeva,[217]
are all in the conch, Lord of seers;
therefore one should always reverence the conch.
Before the Lord of Lords, adore the conch with its flowers, water,
and grains of rice; its splendor is limitless.
If one puts unguents such as sandalwood in a conch,
the Supreme Person bestows the highest joy for a hundred years.
If a man circumambulates with *arghya* water in a conch,
he has circled the earth with its seven continents.
If a Vaiṣṇava waves a conch over the head of Hari
and then sprinkles his dwelling with the water from the shell,
there will be nothing inauspicious in his house.[218]

The same text speaks of the merit in ringing a bell at the time of bathing.

Hear the fruit of merit obtained by the person who sounds a bell
before Vāsudeva at the time of bathing and worship.
For thousands of crores of years, for hundreds of crores of years,
he lives in the divine realm attended by companies of Apsarases.
A bell contains the sounds of all musical instruments and is dear to every deity.
By sounding it one gets the merit of hundreds of crores of sacrifices.
He who bathes the Lord of Lords to the loud ringing of lutes,
with songs and music, will be liberated in this life.
139 The twice-born should always ring a bell filled with all the sound of music
when he sees the conch water on his head at the time of worship.
For hundreds of aeons, for thousands of aeons,
Keśava the Lord will be delighted by the sound of a bell.

Similarly:

The person who bathes Keśava to the sound of flute, lute
and the singing of young women becomes a guru.
Constant worship of Vāsudeva accompanied by the playing
of drums, instruments and the chanting of *Om* grants liberation to men.
Songs, instruments, dancing, and the recitation of books
at worship time, Lord of Lords, always delights Keśava.

Now regarding Śiva, in the *Kālikā Purāṇa*:

If one bathes with the five products of a brown cow,

[217] The *vāsudevasya cājñayā* in the text may not be the correct reading.
[218] Only some of the verses in these three quotes match the published edition of the SkP: II.5.5.12b, 13, 14, 15, 24-27, 31, 32, 34, 35; II.5.6.2-5; and II.5.10.34-35.

or with *kuśa* grass and water together,
purified by mantras, that is called a Brahma bath.
If even for one day a person performs a Brahma bath on a *liṅga*,
cleansed of all sin, he is glorified in the world of Rudra.
Bathing with the five products of a brown cow,
or with curds and milk together has indubitably
a hundred times the merit of any other.
The sin acquired through thousands and thousands of years
is all burnt up by a bath of ghee just as fire burns up the fuel.
If a man bathes a *liṅga* with ghee once
140 on the eighth day of the dark half of the month,
he saves twenty kinsmen and is glorified in the world of Śiva.

In the *Brahma Purāṇa*:

An image of the gods should be all anointed with ghee.
Twenty-five ounces should be offered to it with faith.
A bath of 108 ounces is always offered.
The two thousand ounces of ghee offered in a Great Bath
all at once flow out in every direction for the giver.[219]

Clothing

About this, the *Viṣṇu Smṛti* says in refrain:

Not indigo cloth.[220] VS 66.3

Supply from the preceding sutra: “He should offer.”

In the *Agni Purāṇa*:

Make offerings to the deity with cloth of good quality,
such as linen with two borders, wood fiber, silk, and cotton,
which are valuable in themselves and dear to oneself.
One should not present old and worn out cloth to the deity.
The fool who does so goes to a terrible hell, the lowest of men.

Fragrant Substances

The *Narasimha Purāṇa* with reference to Viṣṇu says:

Bedaubing the figure of Viṣṇu the Imperishable with saffron, aloe, cardamom, and sandal
with devotion, O Lord of Kings, one dwells in heaven for crores of *kalpas*.

141 The *Agni Purāṇa* states:

[219] This description of bathing an image with measures of ghee and of a *mahāsnāna* has textual problems and appears not to be in the published texts of the *Brahma Purāṇa*.
[220] The edition has *nīlarakte*, the VS, *nīloraktam*, i.e., “indigo-dyed cloth.”

When besmeared with sandal, aloe, camphor, saffron, and other precious roots
and woods in devotion, Hari bestows the greatest blessings;
curcuma, deer testes, and red sandalwood,
when offered to Puruṣottama, bring merit to men.

But with regard to Śiva the same text says:

My king, you should know that there is eight times
more merit in aloe-wood than in sandal.
Black aloe, in particular, possesses twice that merit;
and twice the merit of that is found in saffron.
If you daub the image of Śiva with sandalwood, aloe, and camphor,
finely ground into a paste, you will dwell in heaven a crore of *kalpas*.

Incense

On this subject, in the *Vāmana Purāṇa* it is said that Viṣṇu's:

favorite incenses are *tuhika*, *kaṇa* drops, *dāru*, bensoin, aloe,
sandal, *śaṅkha*, and jasmine.[221] VmP 68.20

Tuhika is spikenard; *kaṇa* is a kind of *guggulu* gum; *dāru* is the deodar pine; *śaṅkha* is the fragrant resin of *nakhi*.

142 In the *Narasiṁha Purāṇa*:

The devotee of Narasiṁha, O King, offers the incense of bdellium,
and *guggulu* resin mixed with ghee and sugar.
Well perfumed all over, he is freed from all sins,
and transported in a chariot yoked with Apsarases,
he reaches the world of Vāyu.
He is glorified in the world of Viṣṇu. NsP 34.24-26

Viṣṇu says:

No matter from a living creature for incense. VS 66.8

Meaning that substances derived from living beings, such as musk, should not be given as incense.

These are only incense for Sūrya and Durgā.

In the *Śiva Purāṇa*:

The man who offers *guggulu* with ghee to Śiva
attains the world of Rudra and meets with the world of Gāṇapati.

In the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa*:

By wood-apple resin with ghee or the *bilva* fruit,
a man attains the results of an *agniṣṭoma* sacrifice.

[221] This verse has many variations from the text of the VmP.

Wood-apple is the *kapittha* or monkey-fruit tree.

Lamps

On this topic we read in the *Viṣṇusmṛti*:

For lamps, nothing except ghee and sesame oil.

Supply "one should offer."

143 In the *Narasiṁha Purāṇa*:

Hear the blessings for the devoted worshipper of Viṣṇu
who duly lights a lamp with ghee or sesame oil.
Casting off all sin, shining like a thousand suns,
he is transported in glory to the world of Viṣṇu. NsP 34.26-28

In the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa:*

By offering ghee lamps to Śiva one obtains a divine chariot
a hundred *yojanas* in size, shining like ten thousand suns.

Similarly, in the general chapter for lamps:

One should not destroy the lamps offered, nor let them be without oil.
The destroyer of lamps who does so is born as a mouse or a goat.

"Oil" also includes ghee. Therefore, do not take ghee or oil out of a lamp bowl.

Food Offerings[222]

On this topic the *Varāha Purāṇa* states:

These are acceptable to me: cow curd, milk, and ghee.
Buffalo, sheep, and goat are not fit.

"Not fit" means they should not be offered by a devotee of Viṣṇu. In this verse, buffalo curd is forbidden for Viṣṇu, not milk.

144 Similarly, the *Viṣṇu Smṛti* says:

Not forbidden foods as offerings, nor goat and buffalo milk,
even though they are lawful food,

nor the flesh of five-clawed animals, fish, and boar. VS 66.12-14

[222] *Naivedya*: the food offered to a deity or image.

Supply: "He may give."

In the *Varāha Purāṇa*:

Venison, goat, and hare flesh is acceptable;
these are favorites of mine and should be used, O Vasudharā.

In the *Agni Purāṇa*:

Foods which are good to eat and acceptable should be given;
and fruits which are choice and tasty, O Janārdana.

But for Sūrya and Durgā:

Offerings of wheaten cake, *kṛśara*, *apūpa* cake, kheer, jaggery sweetmeats,
curd with sugar and spices, rices,
barley, wheat, mung beans, black gram, meats, sesame, etc.,
beverages, and ripe fruit should be presented.

Regarding Śiva, in the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa*:

With offerings of food with jaggery, sugar, ghee,
the merit of foods cooked with ghee is a hundred times.

Similarly, one should offer to Śiva ripe fruit abounding in citron. The fruit of whatever is offered is in the presenting of the food.

145 As for the vessel for food offerings:

Gold, silver, copper, bell metal, *palāśa* leaves,
and lotus leaves are the vessels most dear to Viṣṇu.

Circumambulation[223]

The particulars of *pradakṣiṇa* are described in the *Pariśiṣṭa* appendix.

Do one for Vināyaka, two for Sūrya, three for Śaṅkara,
Give four to Keśava, seven to the sacred pipal tree.

Elsewhere we read:

Give one to Caṇḍī, eight to Ravi, three to Vināyaka,
four to Viṣṇu, and half a *pradakṣiṇa* to Śiva.

In the *Āditya Purāṇa*:

A man should do three *pradakṣiṇas* at Śiva's sacred place,
A human being obtains the fruit of a thousand *aśvamedhas*.

In the *Liṅga Purāṇa*:

[223] ***Pradakṣiṇa.***

One walks left to right, then in reverse;
one should not cross over the *liṅga* channel until death.

In the *Great Nāradīya*:

When doing *pradakṣiṇa* for Śiva,
a mortal should not cross over the *liṅga* channel.[224]

Similarly:

Ascetics circumambulate from right to left, but *brahmacārins* from left to right.
Householders always go round both ways when offering *pradakṣiṇa* to Śiva.
Covering it first with grass, earth, lotuses, wood, stones, and such things,
146 he may cross over the *liṅga* channel.

Bowing[225]

Next:

The wise man who prostrates himself to Śiva, the Lord of All,
on his hands, knees, and head will attain all his desires.

In the *Nāradīya Purāṇa*:

Just one bow made to Kṛṣṇa is equal
to the concluding baths of ten *aśvamedhas*.
The performer of ten *aśvamedhas* is born again.
The man who bows to Kṛṣṇa is not born again.

In the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa*, regarding Sūrya:

He who worships prostrate like a staff on the ground with a *namaskāra*
attains a state not reached by even a hundred sacrifices.

Likewise, regarding Devī:

The adept attains the fruit of all sacrifices and fasts, and all
pilgrimages to *tīrthas* by bowing down his head to Satī.
The adept who bows before Caṇḍikā with his body stretched out
straight as a staff attains supreme happiness.

They mention the special rules for *namaskāra*:

One should not do *japa*, *homa*, and *namaskāra* in front, behind,
or on the left side of the inner sanctuary of a temple.
In front, one obtains death, behind, decay and decline.
147 On the left side would be destruction, on the right the granting of all desires.

But it is performed in front for Śiva:

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[224] The "liṅga channel" (*somasūtra*) is the conduit for draining the water and other liquids with which a *liṅga* is bathed.
[225] *Praṇāma*.

Throwing oneself down on the ground like a staff before Paśupati,[226]
all sins fall away simultaneously and do not rise again.

Transgression and Disposal of *Nirmālya*[227]

Stepping over *nirmālya* is forbidden in the *Narasiṁha Purāṇa*. Nārada says to Śāntaratha:

Henceforth, do not tread upon the remains, O wise man,
of offerings to Narasiṁha and the other heavenly gods.

Also in the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa*:

One should diligently avoid disturbing the night sleep of Bhāskara the sun;
for when violated, it is inauspicious.
He who does so steps into dark and monstrous hells.

The disposal of *nirmālya* is explained in the *Brahma Purāṇa*:

Flowers that have been on the limbs of Brahmā and Viṣṇu are given to Brahmins.
Flowers from the image of Rudra and all the ghee should be burnt immediately.
What remains of gifts to the other gods and what was offered
to Brahmā should be given to Brahmins.
Offerings to Viṣṇu are given to the Sātvatas, offerings to Śambhu to the ash-limbed ascetics.
What is offered to the Sun goes to the birds, what is offered to the Lord to the Śākyas,
what is offered to the divine Mothers goes to women.
148 But what remains of offerings to the spirits, ghosts, and demons should be thrown away.

"Ghee" is a synecdoche for milk and the like. The "Sātvatas" are performers of *pūjā* (Bhāgavatas). The "Lord" is Buddha. The disposal of ghee, etc., used in bathing was given above. Because of the words "to Brahmins," etc., this text more specifically refers to the disposal of *naivedya*.

In the *Bahuvṛcapariśiṣṭa,* it is said:

It is taught by Gods, Siddhi yogis and Ṛṣis that the *naivedya* of Viṣṇu purifies.
Contact with those who consume, tread upon, and give away the *naivedya* of Śiva subtracts merit.

In the *Padma Purāṇa*:

Never touch the objects, food, fruit, and water of Śiva.
Don't tread on the *nirmālya*: the man who does falls into hell.

But, according to the *Agni Purāṇa*, those who only worship Śiva are not so prohibited:

Reverently take his foot-bath water and *nirmālya*.

In the *Āditya Purāṇa*:

[226] The edition has *paśoḥ paśupateragre*. The *paśoḥ* seems redundant.
[227] The remains of offerings to a deity, such as garlands and flowers.

He who out of devotion deferentially takes the *nirmālya* of Parvatī's lord
will surely obtain the fruit of a royal consecration.

But one should not take it out of covetousness and the like:

.

Do not covetously keep the *nirmālya* of Śambhu, nor eat them.
149 He should not even touch them with his foot or step over them, Nārada.

Everyone may take them after giving Caṇḍā her portion.[228] The absence of a portion for Caṇḍā portion in some circumstances is stated in the *Agni Purāṇa*.

When there is a *liṅga* of white Narmadā stone,
a moving, metal, original, or naturally arising *liṅga*,
and for all images of Śiva, a Caṇḍā portion is not required. AP 97.60

Some say that those who are not committed to Caṇḍā do not sin in keeping the *nirmālya*. On contact with a *śāligrāma* stone, everyone may take the *nirmālya* of all the gods.

Thus, in the *Skanda Purāṇa*:

All the *nirmālya* of Śiva—vessels, flowers, fruit—which can be taken,
from the touch of a *śāligrāma* stone becomes pure.

In the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa*:

If someone eats the remains of Mukunda's food day by day,
in every bite is the merit of more than a hundred *cāndrāyaṇa* fasts.

In the *Varāha Purāṇa*:

He who does not drink the water of a *śāligrāma* stone but pours it
upon his head, is spoken of as a Brahmin-killer.
For those who reverence the lamp flame and incense with their hands,
the sins acquired in seven births are instantly destroyed. VrP 156.5d

In the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa*, the way to perform *pūjā* to an earthen *liṅga* is given:

150 He who makes and worships an earthen *liṅga* with an altar
is wealthy and blessed in this life and becomes Rudra at the end.
Bid it farewell with "Hara, Maheśvara, Śūlapāṇi,
Pinākadhṛt, Paśupati, Śiva, and Mahādeva."
While taking earth, shaping, establishing,
invoking, bathing, worshiping, and bidding farewell,
recite these names from Hara to Mahādeva.

The manner of performing *pūjā* to his eight forms is described in the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa*, where Viṣṇu says:

Viṣṇu in the *Viṣṇu Smṛti* says:

[228] Caṇḍā "glowing white hot" is the name of Durgā in her incarnation as the slayer of Mahiṣa. The Caṇḍā portion is, presumably, her share of the offerings to Śiva.

Good! well done! most excellent Brahmin.
You have asked me a good question, faithful one.
Now hear the whole great set of Śiva mantras.
Reverence to Śarva in the form of earth.
Reverence to Bhava in the form of water.
Reverence to Rudra in the form of fire
Reverence to Ugra in the form of wind.
Reverence to Bhīma in the form of space.
Reverence to Paśupati in the form of the sacrificer.
Reverence to Mahādeva in the form of the moon.
Reverence to Iśāna in the form of the sun.
These are the eight forms of Śiva. One should sacrifice to Śiva
on a *liṅga* with an altar proceeding gradually from east to southeast.

151 This means that first worshipping Śiva in the *liṅga* with, "Namaḥ Śivāya," one should then worship the eight forms going counterclock-wise.

Then making and worshiping a *liṅga* of gold just the size of a small gooseberry,
or a *liṅga* studded with gems you are glorified in the world of Śiva.
Making a *liṅga* of clay, ash, cow-dung, brass, copper, or bell metal
and worshiping it once, you will live in heaven for 10,000 *kalpas*.

In the *Devī Purāṇa*:

A *liṅga* bestows place and wealth and grants all desires.
A crystal one from the Narmadā mountains is best, but make it of anything else
and worship it, and you will gain the prescribed result.

In the *Āditya Purāṇa*:

The householder should always worship a white Narmadā stone *liṅga* as prescribed,
or one formed from earth and minerals, or one of sugar or curd.

In the *Nandi Purāṇa*:

The householder should not worship any *liṅga* that is
three-cornered, flat and rectangular, holed, bent, or reddish.

Likewise:

Initiates other than Brahmins and women are instructed to worship
at their own *liṅga* given by their guru, and nowhere else.

Flowers

In the *Narasiṁha Purāṇa*:

Worship Hari with forest-grown flowers, or mountain-grown plants,
152 fresh, dewy, sprinkled with water, without living creatures in them,
or flowers grown in one's own garden.

For the recommended flowers, etc., see the *Govindārṇava*. The prohibited ones are noted

here. For Viṣṇu avoid these:

> The flowers of the *kṛkara* and the thorn-apple should not be given to Kṛṣṇa.
> Dogbane and milkweed should not be presented to Janārdana.

Kṛkara is the *karavīra* (oleander); others call it *karīra* (caperbush).

> Avoid the silk-cotton tree, the *śirīṣa* acacia, Indian nightshade, bitter oleander,
> the Indian laurel, wax gourd, and the bayur tree.

In the *Vāmana Purāṇa*:

> And other fragrant blooms, except kewra.
> VmP 68.14

From this text, one can see that the kewra flower is prohibited for Viṣṇu in the form of Narasiṁha or for optional *pūjā*, because of the rule given above.

Viṣṇu says:

> Neither a strong-smelling flower, nor a scentless or thorny one.
> A thorny plant with white fragrant flowers may be given,
> but the red should not. Red saffron may also be given. VS 66.5-7

For Śiva these are to be avoided, according to the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa*:

> Avoid kewra, pearl bush, oleander, amaranth, thorn-apple,
> *śirīṣa*, *sal*, and scarlet mallow blooms.
> 153 Avoid the blooms and leaves of the Indian beech, the *karañja* or Indra tree,
> the flowers of the *bahīra* tree and the chaste tree.
> Avoid unscented and unpleasant-smelling flowers.
> but pure and sacred plants such as *kuśa* grass may be picked.

The Indra tree is the *girikarnika* (chaste tree).

In the *Prāsādadīpikā*:

> One should not offer the Chinese rose, thorn-apple,
> kewra, amaranth, white jasmine and *mura*,
> saffron, oleander, basil, laurel, and waterlilies,
> nor buds, fading and fallen blooms.
> One is at fault if, even inadvertently, one offers wild flowers
> that are strong-scented, have bugs in them,
> or are brought by vile persons with unclean leaves, vessels, hands, limbs, or clothes.

For Sūrya, these are to be avoided, according to the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa*:

> No *gunjā*, thorn-apple, and *girikarnika*,
> no silk-cotton flowers, nor any others sans fragrance.
> Not by hogplum flowers should the day-making Sun be worshipped.

So, any fragrant, colorful flower not prohibited may be offered to Bhanu, the heavenly Bhanu.

154 With regard to Devī, in the *Devī Purāṇa*:

Do not offer to Devī unblown buds.
Exclude the heat-ripened and the out-of -season. DP 123.20
For Śiva avoid jasmine, and for Hari, thorn-apple.
For the Goddesses, the calotropis and coral tree flowers,
and for the Sun*, tagara (*Indian carnation).

In the text that begins:

And with *bakula*, coral tree, jasmine flowers, *śirīṣa* blooms,
oleander flowers, rosewood, and *aparājita*,

calotropis and coral tree flowers are prescribed for Devī. The prohibition of them in the text "for the Goddesses, the calotropis and coral tree," one must infer, refers to others, not to Durgā. In the same way, since *tagara* is prescribed for the worship of Sūrya in the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa* in the text:

gunjā, *tagara*, bayur, and yellow amaranth,

the prohibition of *tagara* in the phrase, "for Sūrya as well," refers to wild *tagara*.

Others say that both the positive and negative injunctions apply. In this case, the meaning of the *śāstra* is this: in *pūjā*, the prescribed flowers and the like must be given first. If these are not ready at hand, one can give prescribed or prohibited ones. If these are absolutely unavailable, then one can give those that are neither prescribed nor prohibited.

Offences

In the *Varāha Purāṇa*:

There are 32 main ones, which Viṣṇu enumerates as Varāha.
He who wears a sectarian mark crosswise and does not honor the gods.
He who honors me with leaves, flowers, etc. that are begged.
155 He who enters my temple with unwashed feet.
He who chews betel nut in my sight.
He who serves me and eats the vegetables cooked with saffron
He who worships me with *palāśa* or white, scentless amaranth flowers.
He who dim-wittedly worships me at nighttime.
He who offers me the cooked food of non-Vaiṣṇavas.
He who offers *pūjā* to me while non-Vaiṣṇavas are watching.
He who offers me food from the day before yesterday.
He who offers me clothes that are dyed black.
He who offers me clothes that are new and unwashed or not fresh.
He who offers *pūjā* to me while talking and sweaty.
He who offers *pūjā* to me holding in gas and urine.
He who bathes me with uncut nails.
He who passes wind and does not do *ācamana* or wears a woolen cloak.
He who offers *pūjā* sitting on a seat or stool or with no seat.
He who burns dhoop in a clay lamp.

He who does *anantapūjā* and does not tie the string.
He who is an anti-Śaiva, or while my devotee, is zealous for Śiva.
He who eats during the day on the 8th of Bhūta or the 11th and 12th of Viṣṇu.
He who worships me wearing someone else's cloak.
156 He who has not offered *pūjā* to Gaṇeśa but honors Śaiva ascetics.
He who performs a rite while angry and disturbs worship at the three times.
He who touches and has converse with a menstruating woman in the dark.
He who dim-wittedly bathes me holding me in his left hand.
Know that these are 32 great offences for which there is no expiation.[229]

Agasti mentions some others:

Going to the Lord's house with shoes on or in vehicles.
Praising the Lord and so on after eating and not cleaning
or in a state of impurity after a death.
Attending festivals for a god etc. and not bowing before him.
Stretching your feet out in front of you and sitting with legs crossed.
Bowing with one hand and circumambulating counter-clockwise.
Lying down, eating, and improper talk.
Wearing a woolen cloak, blame or praise of others.
Coarse and improper talk.
(Breaking wind.)[230]
Giving away the remains of food dedicated to others;
Using spices, condiments etc.
Offering less than one is able, consuming what has not yet been offered.
Not offering fruits in season.
Leaving your seat and greeting others.
Silence before the guru while praising oneself and blaming the gods.

157 These are declared to be the 32 offences for Viṣṇu. The rest of the details can be found out from the rules laid down in various Purāṇas and Āgamas. Out of fear of diffuseness, I do not write about them.

The Five Great Sacrifices[231]

Of these, Vedic recitation and *tarpaṇa* have already been reviewed. Now the *viśvadeva*. [232]

On this topic the *Narasiṁha Purāṇa* states:

Then worship Viṣṇu with the Puruṣa Sūkta hymn;
next do *vaiśvadeva*, and, after that, the rite of *bali*. NsP 58.13

"*Vaiśvadeva*"[233] is sacrifice to the gods, and "rite of *bali*" is sacrifice to the *bhūta*s.

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[229] The list of offences in the critical edition of the *Varāha Purāṇa* (116.1-36) are, for the most part, quite different from those Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa gives here.
[230] The edition oddly inserts this second or fourth *pāda* of a *śloka*.
[231] Manu 3-70 defines them in these terms: 1. *brahmayajña=adhyāpa* 2. *devayajña=homa* 3. *bhūtayajña=bali* 4. *pitṛ-yajña=tarpaṇa* 5 *nṛyajña=atithipūjana*.
[232] Line 5 in the edition is misplaced from the enumeration of offences: "He who breaks wind or urinates during my worship."

In the *Vasiṣṭha Dharmasūtra*:

> One should give offerings to the *pitṛs*, then feed the guests. V 11.5-6

This indicates that the sequence is *bhūtayajña* followed by *pitṛyajña*, then *manuṣyayajña*. These are the five great sacrifices. They are obligatory for Śūdras, too, since Yājñavalkya asserts regarding the Śūdra that :

> Devoted to his wife, pure, support of men, faithfully performing *śrāddha*,
> he should not omit to offer the five sacrifices with the *namaskāra mantra*, Y 1.121

and according to the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*:

> The Śūdra too should offer gifts and domestic sacrifices with cooked grain. VP 3.8.34

158 Vyāsa says:

> Offer *homa* with clarified butter, without sesame oil or salts,
> with curd or milk; or, in the absence of those, simply with water.

In the appendix to the [*Āśvalayāna*] *Gṛhya Sūtra* it is said that:

> He who intends to offer vegetables, leaves, roots, or fruit,
> should make an offering of food and water for *abhiṣeka*.

Gautama says that if performance of all five is not possible:

> Vedic recitation and giving water to the *pitṛs* are constant,

meaning that *brahmayajña* and *tarpaṇa* are both always required.

Vyāsa says:

> Then perform *vaiśvadeva* as prescribed in one's own branch of the Vedas
> with foods prepared with different kinds of offerable condiments.
> Give *bali* with these foods only, putting the remains in water.
> Offer it all to the south with the sacred thread on the right shoulder with "*svadhā*."[234]

"Then" means after worshipping the gods.

Kātyāyana says:

> Now in the evening and morning one should offer some ready, fit food.
>
> AGS 1.2.1

159 "Ready" means cooked. When there is no cooked food available, unhulled rice is regarded as an

[233] Food from the morning and evening meal, cooked in the *aupāsana* or worldly fire, offered to "all the gods." It is allowed to Śūdras under the supervision of Brahmins according to Āpastamba (2.3,4) and to women without mantras (*Bhāradvāja Gṛhyasūtra* 3.12).

[234] *Svadhā* is the exclamation that accompanies an oblation to the ancestors.

alternative:

> When there is no cooked food, or when traveling,
> offer unhulled rice, milk, curd, ghee, root vegetables and fruit.
> If he offers water in the sacrificial fire or in water,
> doing so is reckoned as *pākayajña*.

In the *Kūrma Purāṇa* also:

> If food is cooked in the domestic fire it should be offered there;
> if cooked in the sacred fire, there—this is the eternal law. KP 2.18.104

Aṅgiras says:

> Should food be cooked in the sacred or domestic fire,
> always offer *homa* in whichever fire it was cooked.

Manu says:

> A householder should perform the domestic rites in his nuptial fire
> according to rule, as well as the five great sacrifices and the daily cooking.
> M 3.67

Yājñavalkya says:

> The householder offers domestic sacrifice each day in his marriage fire
> or the fire brought at the time of inheritance; *śrauta* rites are performed in consecrated fires.
>
> Y 1.97

Śātātapa gives a second rule:

> The *vaiśvadeva* should be offered for the removal of the five injuries
> in a common or sacred (*vaidika*) fire, thrown into water, or on the ground.

160 One throws into water or on the ground what is left after performing *homa*.

Even though he does not have a *śrauta* or *smārta* fire, a Śūdra, too, should perform this *homa* in his common fire etc., since, when texts are limited without distinction, there is no way to prefer one rather than another.

Thus, because the statement that " he should offer ready food" is claimed by some to include *vaiśvadeva* as a domestic rite, and since its sense is non-specific, *homa* with cooked food is also the main one for the Śūdra to offer. In the absence of that, the sentiment of the *śāstras* inclines to offering it with unhulled grain etc. since the Śūdra is not specifically prohibited *homa* with cooked food. But because of the rule that "a Śūdra offers raw food in *śrāddha*" there is no *śrāddha* with cooked food, and because of the contradiction involved in gifts of food to Brahmans, since they are prohibited from eating the food of Śūdras in the Kaliyuga.

Thus, wherever cooked food is commonly accepted and not prohibited, it is also not forbidden to Śūdras. Therefore, offering cooked food in fire is not in contradiction with opinion respecting what is to be done. In doing it with raw food respect for Brahmins is not contradicted. On this point all the *nibandhakāras* are fully in agreement. However, because of popular disapproval, the righteous regard rites with cooked food such as *vaiśvadeva* as inappropriate for Śūdras. For this reason, in the verses:

> Among the three *varṇa*s and for Śūdras who diligently serve,
> there are rites of cooked food, Lovely One.
> 161 On day thirteen they shall feed the twice-born with cooked food.
> The five rites should be performed by Śūdras without mantras.

In the *Vārāha Purāṇa*, *śrāddha* with cooked food is confined in its applicability to another *yuga* because of it popular disapproval. Also, the use of the exclamation "*svāhā*" in the formula "s*vāhā* to the gods," is not for them, as explained earlier.

In the *Appendix* it is said:

> Make an offering with the hand flat and palm up,
> thumb pressed in, and fingers together, in silence.

Śaunaka says:

> In the evening and morning offer some ready, fit food
> in fire to the *agnihotra* deities.
> *Svāhā* to Soma,Vanaspati, Agni–Soma, Indra-Agni, Dhanvantari,
> Heaven and Earth, Indra, the Viśva Devas, and Brahma.

"Fit food" means suitable for *homa*. The *agnihotra* deities are Sūrya, Agni, and Prajāpati.

But Kātyāyana says of the five sacrifices:

> Sprinkling around from the *vaiśvadeva* food, one should sacrifice with "*svāhā*"
> to Brahma, Prajāpati, the Ṛṣis, Kaśyapa, and Anumati.

Śaunaka says of *bhūtayajña*:

> Offer *baliharaṇa* to these deities: To Water, the Lords of the Herbs, to Home, the dei-
> 162 ties of the Home, the deities of Vāstu, Indra, Indra's followers, Yama, Yama's followers, Varuṇa, Varuṇa's followers, Soma, and Soma's followers in all the quarters, to Brahma and Brahma's followers in the center, to the Viśva Devas, all beings and creatures of the day in the day, to creatures of the night at night, to the Rakṣasas on the left. Offer the rest to the Pitṛs on the right with the sacred thread over the right shoulder pronouncing "*svadhā*."

These are the deities of *vaiśvadeva homa*.

Bali is explained differently in the *Vājasaneyi Gṛhya Sūtra*. Consult it there for further informa-

tion. In the *Chandogapariśiṣṭha*[235] one is told to offer *bali* while pronouncing "reverence to such-and-such."

> He who intends to offer *bali* should sacrifice to the *pitṛs* with "*svadhā*."
> Some also do it with *namaskāra*. Not so says Gautama.

"Some" means other branches of the Vedas. *Bali*s should be duly offered according to ones' own branch of the Vedas, but there is not one way of doing it.

The *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* states:

> After offering *bali* in his house the householder, purifying himself,
> should make offerings to beings for their gratification, respectfully placing it out.
>
> MkP 26.23-24

163 Supply placing "the food" out. The mantras for placing it out are presented in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*:

> "May the gods, men, animals, birds,
> saints, yakṣas, serpents, demons,
> ghosts, spirits, trees, all
> who want food given by me,
>
> may ants, worms, moths, and other insects,
> hungry and bound in the bonds of action,
> may all obtain satisfaction from the food
> left them by me and enjoy happiness.
>
> May they who have neither mother, father,
> family, food, nor means of procuring it,
> be satisfied and pleased with the food
> placed on the ground for their contentment.
>
> Inasmuch as all beings and this food,
> I, and Visnu are not other than it,
> I offer this food produced for the welfare
> of beings for their sustenance.
>
> May all beings in the fourteen species
> of existent things in the whole world
> 164 be satisfied with the food bestowed
> by me for their gratification and delight."
>
> After saying this prayer, a man should faithfully put food
> on the ground for the benefit of beings,
> for the householder is the support of all.
> Let him put food on the ground for dogs, outcastes, and birds.
>
> VP 3.11.50-57

All this is optional because of the words, "as he wishes," in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*:

[235] Kātyāyana's supplement to the *Gobhila Gṛhya Sūtra.* See Kane 1: 1028 and 1007.

> Then taking some more rice let the householder on a clean spot
> give it to all beings, as he wishes, with a collected mind.

VP 3.11.50

Note that the text begins with "give it to all beings," then enjoins the specifics consisting of a mantra of five ślokas, and ends with "after saying this prayer." Consequently, only this mantra can be meant, and only one *bali* should be given after reciting the five ślokas.

Then, Manu speaks of *bali* for dogs and other creatures:

> He should also gently lay on the ground offerings for dogs,
> outcastes, dog-cookers,[236] people with maladies, birds, and worms. M 3.92

"On the ground" is a synecdoche for any place fit for dogs, crows, etc., to eat. Lay it out saying "reverence to dogs," and so on, respectively.

Then Vyāsa says:

> May birds of the eastern, western, southern, and southwestern
> 165 directions receive this *piṇḍa* I offer on the ground.
> To the two dark, spotted hounds of Yama Vaivasvata,
> to them I offer a *piṇḍa*. May they be harmless.
>
> Offer them with this rite and, afterward, sprinkle the *balis*.

Two *balis* should be given each time with these two verses. Then, one should sprinkle all the *balis* by hand.

Here too, *vaiśvadeva homa* should be performed in the evening and morning according to Śaunaka. "Evening and morning make offerings of cooked food."

Manu also states:

> The *vaiśvadeva* and rite of *bali* should be performed evening and morning,
> always without eating, otherwise one becomes sinful.

He tells how to do it in this text:

> At evening the wife should offer a *bali* of prepared food without *mantra*;
> it is called *vaiśvadeva* and is enjoined evening and morning. M 3.120-121

Observe in this verse the agency of the wife in the absence of the sacrificing husband. Elsewhere the husband himself should do it, as, for instance, in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*:

> Having again prepared food in the evening, he should give food
> together with his wife without mantras to outcastes and such

[236] *Śvapaca*, also the name of a mixed caste (SAS 29).

to obtain the fruits of *vaiśvadeva*.

VP 3. 11. 105-106

166 Manu remarks:

> Those who live sharing one fire and meals should honor
> the fathers, gods, and Brahmins together,
> those living separately, in their individual houses.

From the subsequent mention of "those living separately," "sharing one fire and meals" means those whose property is undivided when performing *vaiśvadeva* and other such rites.

In the *Gobhila Gṛhya Sūtra*:

> When, in a single family, food is cooked in multiple kitchens, one should offer a single *bali* from the kitchen of the head of the family only. But of the food that was cooked in the presence of the other members of the family, one should make the required *homa* in the fire, serve a Brahmin, and eat. GGS 1.4.24-25

When the cooking is done in the house of the eldest, among those who do not live separately, the eldest alone should do *vaiśvadeva* and such rites with food cooked in his own house. The younger ones should do nothing but eat. But if the *vaiśvadeva* is done by the eldest, and cooking is done in the house of the younger, they should silently throw some food into the fire, give some to the Brahmin, and eat.[237]

Atri speaks of those who are secondarily qualified to perform *vaiśvadeva homa* and other such rites:

> A son, brother, priest, pupil, mother and father-in-law, maternal uncle,
> wife, Vedic expert, and friend are the preferable people for the rite of *bali*.

That means that they, too, can perform it in the house, when the primary person is away.

167 Therefore, Baudhāyana says:

> When he goes away and there is no one to perform the rite in the house,
> the five great sacrifices go with him.

Jamadagni says:

> Offer *vaiśvadeva* at night and the rite of *bali* as well.
> But the five great sacrifices are in the day only say those who know dharma.

The *Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra* states:

> The man who knows dharma does not perform bathing and the daily rituals twice over;
> nor should he perform *tarpaṇa*, Vedic recitation, and *vaiśvadeva*.

The sense is that one should not perform each twice in the day or night.

[237] The text is bad. It oddly quotes one version of Gobhila and comments on another in Ludo Rocher's view. *Gobhila-gṛhyasūtram* with Bhaṭṭanārāyana's commentary, critically edited from original manuscripts with notes and indices by Chintamani Bhattacharya (Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1982): 126.

The procedure may be modified in accord with one's branch of the Vedas and the way it was taught.[238] Since the Purāṇic procedure for *vaiśvadeva* is common to everyone of these, I will describe it now:

Put suitable food into a bowl and, if available, into another bowl; if not, mix the food for sacrifice into the first bowl, then offer it in the household fire or in water. Sit on the west side facing east. Control the breath or sip water without Vedic mantras up to a time appropriate for pronouncing the fifteen two syllables.[239] Meditate on Viṣṇu with "namaḥ." Offer *pūjā* to Agni with "namaḥ." Sprinkle water and pronounce "svāhā" and
168 "namaḥ" to Brahma, Prajāpati, the Gṛhyās, Kaśyapa, and Anumati. Offer five oblations and pour water on them.

The *Balis*[240]

Reverence to the Earth. Reverence to the Rain, Reverence to the Water. Reverence to the Creator. Reverence to Brahma. Then to the east of the place for the *bali* for Brahma leave a place for *balis*. Put six *balis* in a line ending on the east. Above this line, leave a place for seven *balis* ending on the east, and a row around the two lines.

Offer *balis* to Indra and the other gods. "Reverence to Indra. Reverence to Agni. Reverence to Yama, King of Dharma. Reverence to Nṝti, Reverence to Vāruṇa. Reverence to Vāyu. Reverence to the Moon. Reverence to Dhanvantari." After offering *balis* to the deities of the directions in this way, to the east of the place for Brahma's *bali*, as before, while saying, "Reverence to Brahma," offer a *bali*. Then seven *balis* should be placed above this line ending on the east. While saying "Reverence to the Sky. Reverence to the Sun. Reverence to the Viśva Devas. Reverence to all the Elements. Reverence to the Lords of All Things. Reverence to the fourteen companies of the gods, etc., Reverence to the Dawn," offer seven *balis*. Give a *bali* to the Lord of Beings above all the *balis* on the north, one to the fathers on the south while wearing the sacred thread over the left shoulder with the *pitṛtīrtha* gesture, and one to Vāyu on the north-east of all the *balis* wearing the sacred thread over the left shoulder. Give water mixed with the remains of the food to Yakṣma (Disease), saying "this anointing is for you." So there are 25 *balis* in all.

169 After giving *balis* in this manner, offer water to them to sip on their *bali* places. In this case, daily *śrāddha* and *pitṛyajña* are contained in the rite of *bali* for *pitṛs*. With the exception of daily *śrāddha*, *pitṛyajña* is accomplished even by the verses for giving *balis* to the *pitṛs*. After giving *bali*, while wearing the sacred thread around the neck, dedicate four bites of food for Sanaka and so on, and say "Reverence to Sanaka and the sages, this food is for you." This is *manuṣyayajña*.

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[238] The text has *maṇḍaleṣu ca* here, which is not clear. Perhaps *maṇḍala* has already acquired its modern sense of society, circle, or community.

[239] *dvyakṣara*, a disyllabic word or *saman*.

[240] The second of the daily *mahāyajña*s, *baliharaṇa*, is the propitiatory sharing of portions of one's food such as rice as offerings (*bali*s) to gods, semi-divine beings, spirits, household divinities, animals, birds, plants, beings, elementals, even objects such as a door-post and water pot. Therefore, it is also called *bhūtayajña*. The *bali*s are placed in a circle on the ground or thrown into the air outside the house before the daily meal.

If offering food measured into four bites is not possible, on the authority of good people, one or two bites should be offered following the rule of ½ or ¼. After *manuṣyajña*, take previously prepared food and while saying, “this is for svapakas, birds, and so on,” put it on the ground outside the house, as much as you can and wish. Then after washing your feet and sipping water, perform daily *śrāddha*. If a guest is present, honor him hospitably to the extent possible.

There is a peculiarity here regarding the offering of food. When a Śūdra offers cooked food, he should give it to a cow or throw it in water, but not give it to a Brahmin. This is so because in the Kaliyuga Brahmins are forbidden to eat food cooked by Śūdras. That the four *varṇa*s should go begging their food belongs to a different age than the Kaliyuga. This method applies to other *balis* as well. But there is no problem as far as raw food is concerned. The better view is that even *vaiśvadeva* and such rites should be performed only with uncooked food. It is not opposed to popular custom and is how people of good breeding do it.

Daily *Śrāddha*[241]

This is the procedure for doing it. On the south side of the *vaiśvadeva* circle place the materials for *śrāddha* and prepare them. Take a bunch of *kuśa* grass in your hand with sesame seeds. Repeat inwardly the Brahmin’s petition for “total prosperity” or have a Brahmin say it for you. Place the *kuśa* grass in your hand on the ground with gold before the Brahmin and have the Brahmins say, “May your honors say ‘let the treasure of entitlement be bestowed on me.’ ”They answer, “May you have a treasure of entitlement to *śrāddha*.” Sip water. Control the breath. Call to mind Viṣṇu. Call to mind the time and place and express the intention, “I will perform daily *śrāddha* for my paternal grandfather, and paternal great-grandfather, of such-and-such *gotra*, servants of so-and-so, with their wives.” Then perform *śrāddha* as instructed the best you can with the customary offerings such as water for bathing the feet. Do it with the *namaskāra mantra* for each offering in this manner, “Reverence to you, this water is for you.” But a Brahmin sitting nearby should recite other domestic or Vedic mantras, or not, as the case may be. The rest should be done like *pārvaṇa śrāddha*.

[241] E.g., *pitṛyajña*. Some authors divide *śrāddha*s into *nitya*, *naimittika*, and *kamya*. *Nityaśrāddha* is obligatory at certain fixed times, such as on the new moon or, as here, everyday as part of the five *mahāyajña*s. As described by KS, it seems not entirely distinct from *pārvaṇaśrāddha* and the year-long character of *ekoddiṣṭa śrāddha*.

171 The things to be avoided here are described in the *Matsya Purāṇa*:

> Of these, daily *śrāddha* will I first impart to you.
> It is without *arghya*, invocation,
> or a specific deity, and is called *pārvaṇa*. MP 16.5cd-6ab

In the *Kāśīkaṇḍa*:

> No invocation, no burnt offering, no *piṇḍa*, no *visarjana*.

> Daily *śrāddha* is to be without *argha* and *piṇḍa*,
> free from gifts, the austerity of the giver and guest set aside.

The "austerity of the giver and guest" are the rules of chastity, sleeping on the ground, etc. Here the prohibition of gifts means that one does not have to make gifts as they are generally prescribed.

According to text of Vyāsa:

> One is to set aside the rules for chastity, etc., and the *vaiśvadevas*
> when performing daily *śrāddha* and offer food.
> After giving gifts as he can, he should send them on their way with *namaskāras*.

Then with the sacred thread over the right shoulder give the statement of intent, water for bathing the feet, a vow to offer food, and water for sipping. Then, with the sacred thread over the left shoulder, recite the verse that begins, "May the water be beneficent," and ends with the granting of a boon, "May our family prosper." Give a gift as one can, small coins or fruit.[242] Give reverence to Viṣṇu and bow to the Brahmins and the sun. If sufficient means are lacking, give fruit,
172 root vegetables, fluids, or whatever is on hand daily to the fathers. If even these are not available, the merit of *śrāddha* is attained simply by faithfully offering water.

> Any offering of water made to the fathers with faith
> yields all the merit of a sacrifice to them.

Daily *śrāddha* is required for a year; beyond that, it is optional. If performed then, it brings prosperity, unperformed, merely no loss. Āpastamba says something similar in the text beginning, "daily *śrāddha*," going on to say, "receive this food;" "after a year the last of them should be done with red food;" "afterwards, it is optional;" and "the fathers announce that they are contented with this *śrāddha*."[243] This means that the

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[242] The edition has *phala*, which may be a misprint for *pala*, another small coin or a measure.
[243] A 2.18.5-18. The text of Āpastamba has *lohenājena*, "red goat," not the *lohenānnena* here, "red food."

last daily *śrāddha* performed, i.e. at the end of the year, should be done with "red food," i.e., chiefly red goat meat. After the end of the year, following this prescribed *śrāddha*, daily *śrāddha* is optional.

After that:

> May the cows of plenty, all-beneficent purifiers and removers of sin,
> the mothers of the three worlds accept my mouthful of grass.
> 173 Receive the food I give, daughter of Surabhi, as my homage to you.

While repeating this mantra, give a handful of grass with food to another's cow as an offering.

> He who gives a handful of grass to another's cow as food,
> not eating himself, goes to the heavenly world.

Then he should stand in his yard and wait for a visitor for the length of time it takes to milk a cow.

If he sees a visitor asking for food of unknown family, conduct, name, religion, and moral character, he should receive him hospitably, offer him a seat, and honor him with incense and the like, giving water and whatever is at hand saying, " I have prepared this food for you with all the trimmings." When he has satisfied the guest, he should consider himself to have done his duty. He should feed even a Śūdra guest as much as he is able.

In the *Kūrma Purāṇa*:

> A twice-born who offers a guest a *hantakāra*, *agra*, or *bhikṣā* as he is able,
> constantly recognizes the Supreme Lord.
>
> KP 2.18.113

Manu defines them:

> A *bhikṣā* is one mouthful, an *agra* four mouthfuls,
> four times an *agra* is a *hantakāra*.

In the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*:

> A meal is sixteen, four, or one mouthful of rice.
> Do not eat oneself until this is given according to one's means. MkP 26.38

174 In the *Nārasiṁha Purāṇa*:

> A mendicant who comes to your house when *vaiśvadeva* has not yet been done
> should be given a mouthful taken from what is meant for it and sent on his way.
>
> NrP 58.100-101

Parāśara gives the reason for this:

> A mendicant has the power to ward off the sin committed while performing *vaiśvadeva*.
> but *vaiśvadeva* cannot drive away the offense done a mendicant.
>
> P 1.44

Devala says:

In the evening and morning he should not shut the door of his house to giving alms.
D 2.291

The *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* states:

The unbathed eats filth, the non-praying pus and blood,
the non-sacrificer eats worms, the non-giver poison.
If a man has cooked food only for himself, if he has intercourse for pleasure,
and if he studies only for prosperity, his life is fruitless.

Viṣṇu says:

A visitor who turns back disappointed from someone's house
goes taking his merit and leaving him his sin. VP 67.33

Yājñavalkya says:

The sin incurred when a visitor is turned away in the daytime
is declared eight times greater when he is turned away at sunset.

Even if one is cooking greens and living on gleaned corn,
175 a visitor should not be turned away in his own or a foreign country.[244]

Manu says:

A Kṣatriya is not called a guest in the house of a Brahmin,
nor is a Vaiśya or a Śūdra, a friend, or an elder.
If, however, a Kṣatriya comes to his house
as a guest, he should gladly feed him as well
after the Brahmins have finished eating.
Even when a Vaiśya or Śūdra comes to the house,
he should show kindness and feed them with the family.
When others, such as dear friends, visit,
prepare a special dish and serve them with your wife.[245]

"Family" means members of the household or servants and "prepare" means to cook.

In the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*, it is said:

I think a *caṇḍāla*, a sinner, an enemy, or a patricide,
if he comes at the right time and place, should be provided for.

The words "should be provided for" indicate that the other rules for the reception of a guest such as rising from your seat to honor him, and so on, are set aside. Other details on this can be seen in my work, the *Govindārṇava*.[246]

[244] These two verses are not in Yājñavalkya.
[245] Not in Manu.

Manu says:

> The man who does not fail to perform the five great sacrifices,
> though living in a house, is not stained by the sins of doing harm. M 3.71

176 A householder has five places where killing occurs—fireplace, grindstone,
mortal and pestle, broom, and water pot—by which human beings are bound.[247] M 3.68

Therefore, he should give alms to *dharmabhikṣus*, but also to other beggars (M 3.94-96). *Dharma-bhikṣus*, i.e. mendicants who meet the conditions, are:

> an ascetic, a student, a pursuer of higher studies, the supporter of a guru,
> a traveler, the unemployed. These are the six *dharmabhikṣus*.

The Rite for Meals[248]

In this rite, after doing the daily observances, purifying himself, and focusing the mind, draw a half moon *maṇḍala* and place on it a couple of dishes or pots with "whatever is on hand." With damp feet and hands, with *kuśa* grass in hand, and sitting on a stool facing east, in silence hold the cup between the fingers of the left hand and thumb and sprinkle water consecrated with the *mantra* "Reverence to Nārāyaṇa" on the food. Then give *balis* to Yama, King of Dharma, on the right side of the dishes and reverence Citra and the dead. Some say that one should offer as many *balis* as the number of great Ṛṣis in the *gotra*. Next, silently drink a handful of water. Then take five lumps the size of small, fresh gooseberries, and without biting them, with a calm mind, while chanting the prayer that begins "Reverence to Prāṇa," eat them. The Bengalis say that Brahmins should only recite the mantras for drinking water, offering *bali*, and making
177 oblations to Prāṇa ending with "svāhā." Śūdras should perform the various rituals either in total silence or muttering "namaḥ."

On this topic Vyāsa says:

> Make a square, triangular, circular, or half-moon *maṇḍala*
> for a Brahmin, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya, and Śūdra respectively.

Śaṅkha says:

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[246] *Govindārṇave asmatkrte*. This is the single instance in the SAS of Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa claiming to have written the *Govindārṇava* himself.
[247] The edition has (*yena jantavaḥ*) which is not a reading found in any MS. Olivelle has *yāstu vāhayan*. Olivelle, *Manu's Code of Law* (2005): 459.
[248] *Bhojana*.

A square *maṇḍala* is advised for a Brahmin, a triangular one for a Kṣatriya;
a circular one for a Vaiśya, and a sprinkling of water for a Śūdra.

In the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa*:

From his meal he should offer first some food as a *bali* to Dharmarāja.
By giving a *bali* to Citragupta, he destines it to the dead.[249]

Manu says:

Once the Brahmins, dependents, and servants have finished their meal,
only then, should the husband and wife eat what is left over.[250] M 3.116

Pracetas explains the seats to be avoided:

The knowing man always avoids a seat made of cowdung,
clay, brass, *palāśa*, or pipal wood, iron or copper.

Atri says:

Whenever a Brahmin eats putting his feet up on a seat,
or blows on his food with his mouth[251]
it is as though he was eating cow meat.

178 Hārīta says:

Do not eat on a black metal, clay, broken, or stained plate.

"Black metal" is iron; "stained" means defiled by the food of Śūdras, etc.

The *Vṛddha Manu* says:

A householder should not eat in a bowl of copper, broken bell-metal, or a polluted one,
nor offer *vaiśvadeva* on *palāśa* or lotus leaves—
thus he will achieve the merit of a brahmacāri's or ascetic's *cāndrāyaṇa* fast.

In the *Padma Purāṇa*:

From eating on *palāśa* leaves or drinking a brown cow's milk
without a vow, a Śūdra goes to a place of torment.
A Śūdra who unintentionally eats food on *palāśa* leaves, O best of Brahmins,
even without a vow, is purified by giving a cow.

In the *Great Ocean of Nṛsiṁha*:

Karañja, pipal, fig, *kumbhī*, *rui*, and ebony trees—
on the leaves of these he should not eat, nor on the mango or sweet-mango.
If a householder without prayer consumes food on upside down leaves, on slanted leaves,
on the deodar pine, on *palāśa* leaves, in a bowl woven together by Śūdras,
or brought by them, or sewn with thorns or with bamboo,
on creeper or blue lotus leaves,
he should perform a *cāndrāyaṇa* fast for purification.

[249] This verse was corrected by Ludo Rocher to the version in *Smṛticandrikā* II: 608.
[250] This is Olivelle's translation. The text has *vai bahiḥ* a misprint for *vaiva* or *caiva hi*. *Manu* (2005): 469.
[251] The *mukhena śnāti* of the edition makes no sense. *Smṛticandrikā* 616 has *mukhena dhamitaṃ cānnam*.

179 But only the one who eats in a stainless copper bowl,
for him four things prosper: health, wisdom, honor, and strength.

This is forbidden to renunciate ascetics according to a text of Pracetas:

> The ascetic, Vedic student, and widow should avoid
> betel, lotions, and eating in a copper dish.

Vyāsa says:

> He should sit down to eat facing east in silence,[252] with his hands,
> feet, and mouth damp. These five are supposed to be wet.

Manu says regarding the wishes that go with it:

> Facing east he enjoys longevity, facing south honor,
> facing west he enjoys prosperity, and facing north righteousness. M 2.52

In the *Brahma Purāṇa*:

> If he eats on the palm of his hand, blowing on it,
> or with his fingers stretched out, it is like eating cow flesh.

In the *Saṁgraha*, it is stated:

> A man with sons should never eat at home facing north.
> The wise man always avoids anointing on Monday.

In the *Brahma Purāṇa*:

> Looking at the food, first bow to it, then with the hands in *añjali*
180 fervently venerate it as you say "May this be ours for ever."

In the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*:

> He should first, with absorbed attention, eat sweet flavors,
> in the middle, salty and sour foods, then pungent and bitter.
> The person who starts with fluid, takes solid food in the middle,
> and finishes with fluid again is never unhealthy. VP 3.11.87-88

In the *Brahma Purāṇa*:

> He should never eat food with his fingers or shake it off his hand.
> He should take milk at the end of his food, and not afterwards drink sour milk.
> He should fill his stomach half with food and a quarter with water.
> He should leave a quarter empty to hold wind.
> Moreover, he should not dine seated in one row with all his relation—
> for who knows what great degradation lies hidden there.

If it is unavoidable, arrange the seating differently and then eat. Bṛhaspati describes seating ar-

[252] *Smṛticandrikā* 601: *maunam āsthitaḥ.*

rangements other than in a row:

> The learned recommend dividing the seats by a fire,
> ashes, a pillar, water, a door, and a passageway.

Other details and the part dealing with such matters as who is entitled to eat what and with whom can be seen in the chapter on *āhnika* in the *Govindārṇava*.

181 Paiṭhīnasi says:

> He should not eat salt, spices, ghee, sesame oil,
> things to be licked or drunk, or anything handed to him;
> cooked food and sauces should be served with a ladle.
> The man who won't serve water or cooked food with a ladle
> is a Brahmin-killer, a drinker of alcohol, a thief, a violator of his guru's bed.

Manu says:

> He should avoid these seven things as enemies: drinking spirits, meaty
> and milky foods, eating at night, food given again, bitten into, or hot.[253]

In the *Āśvamedhika*:

> If he sees a menstruating woman, a *caṇḍāla*, a dog, or a cock
> while eating, he should give up that food.

Gautama says:

> Unbecoming talk, a potter's wheel, a grindstone, a mortar—
> he should not eat for the time the sound of these lasts.

Āpastamba says:

> One can take food *brahmacārin*s and householders,
> but not *munis* and all *liṅgin*s.[254]

"Munis" here means forest dwellers and ascetics. 'With religious marks" means Kāpālikas and the like.

182 Aṅgiras says:

> If a Brahmin eats the food of Śūdras for six months,
> while living he becomes a Śūdra, and dead, he is reborn as a dog.
> He should take no interest in the cooked food of others without a blameless invitation.
> He should avoid agitation of speech, hands, and feet, and overeating.

And also:

> The food of Brahmins is nectar, of Kṣatriyas is milk,
> the food of Vaiśyas is rice, and the food of Śūdras is blood.

[253] Not found in our texts of Manu.
[254] *Liṅgin*s are persons bearing sectarian religious marks. It is not clear which ones KS intends. The verse, in any case, is not in Āpastamba and strangely worded, seeming to say "students and householders should be fed, but not ascetics and sectarians."

Thus, generally speaking, any cooked food of Śūdras should not be eaten, but Yājñavalkya allows some:

> Among Śūdras, a *dāsa*, a cowherd, friends of the family, a half-sharecropper, employees of the house, or anyone who offers himself in service are persons whose food can be eaten.
> Y 1.166

By "*dāsa*" is meant a servant from birth. A "half-sharecropper" is a cultivator who takes half of the harvest. The cooked food even of these should not be eaten when they have totally abandoned their caste duties.[255] Manu says:

> The learned twice-born must not eat the cooked food of a non-*śrāddha* Śūdra;
> he may accept raw food from him as subsistence for one night. M 4.223

"For one night" means sufficient for one day and night.[256] "A non-*śrāddha* Śūdra" implies anyone who has abandoned his appointed duties. One infers from the adjective "non-*śrāddha*" that even cooked food of a Śūdra who is devoted to his duty can be eaten.

183 Hārīta restricts likewise:

> grain parched in a *kandu*, foods cooked in oil or made with milk, barley in yoghurt:
> Manu said these can be eaten by persons not eating the food of Śūdras.

A "*kandu*" is a metal frying pan.

In the same way, according to Sumantu:

> He may eat cakes made with milk, barley, sesame oil, oil seed cake,
> and things made with milk.

The statement in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* that "after consecrating it with a sprinkling of water, a Brahmin may take the food a Śūdra brings to his house," refers to the Śūdras noted above. The statement with the prohibition "the food of a Śūdra never," and so forth, refers to other Śūdras and when there is no emergency.

Likewise, Yājñavalkya says:

> He should not eat the food of the fireless when there is no emergency. Y 1.160cd

The "fireless" is a Śūdra.

On this topic, in the *Kalpataru* the overall final statement is this:

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[255] Their raw food may be eaten, not cooked food. Accepting raw or cooked food is another of those distinctions where the difference between *sat*- and *asat*-Śūdras, i.e., those who abide by or have abandoned their *svadharma* duties, comes in to play.
[256] A *nychthemera*.

In general, the cooked or uncooked food of a Śūdra should not be eaten. But, in an emergency, only raw food for a day may be taken. Even when there is no emergency, raw food may be taken from *dāsas*, etc., and in an emergency, cooked food as well. But by any Śūdra pan-fried food, etc., may be eaten. These rules on eating food apply in a different *yuga*.

184 According to the statement by Kratu in the chapter of the *Kālakhaṇḍa* on things to be avoided in the Kaliyuga, eating the food of "among Śūdras, a *dāsa*, a cowherd, friends of the family, a half-sharecropper," is restricted to the householder.[257]

In the *Āśvamedhika*:

The cup with which he drinks, excellent Brahmin,
is not refuse until he puts it on the ground.[258]

On this point *smṛti* says:

If a Brahmin drinks water in a cup after eating clarified butter in it,
or eats in a water-cup, that is proclaimed infernal.

Observances After Eating

Devala says:

After eating, collect the leftovers, something from everything, and sip water.
Spread along with water some portions of leftovers on the ground

This is the mantra:

May the prosperity of all living beings from heaven to hell,
from an eyelash to Mount Abu, be imperishable.[259] D 660-61

Vyāsa says:

Drink half and leave half of the porridge on the ground.
'May the Nāgas in their subterranean realm be pleased with it eternally.'

and similarly:

Sip water right there on the plate on which you have eaten,
If you have risen from the table after finishing your food without sipping,
185 do it then, and immediately bathe, otherwise you become a sinner.

Eating inside in this way and sipping water outside is a local custom only, but it is not appropriate.

In the *Kurma Purāṇa*:

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[257] Quoting Y 1.166 ab above on page 182.
[258] This verse is found in MB 14, appendix 4.2344-5.
[259] The many variant readings show that the mantra was poorly understood throughout its scriptural transmission. By spreading parts of the leftover food on the ground, the living beings appear to be underground. One reading of *pāda* a confirms this: *rauravapūynilaye*, "in the den of purulent matter of the Raurava hell." *Pāda* b with its variant readings remains unclear.

After sipping water, drip water from the thumb on the big toe
of the right foot, with the hand raised and the mind focused,
and consecrate the offering with the *mantra* that goes "in faith…"

Baudhāyana gives the mantra for dripping water:

The Person, the size of a thumb, resting on the big toe,
the Lord of All the World, the Universal Enjoyer, may He be pleased with this.

This mantra is not for Śūdras, because it belongs to *smṛti*.

Vyāsa says:

Sprinkle the knees with water, Majesty, if there are many persons
to be supported in the house.

In the *Brahma Purāṇa*:

By sprinkling the knees and arms he gains the merit of giving a cow.

In the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*:

Then with a calm mind a man should take a seat
and meditate on his chosen deities.

In the *Brahma Purāṇa*:

Although he has sipped water, he is still impure until the plate is removed;
even when removed, he is still impure until the earth has been wiped with cowdung.

Atri says:

Even though the earth has been smeared with dung, a man is still impure until,
rising from his seat, the earth is sprinkled with water.

186

The Rules for Betel

The *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* states:

After many sips of water he should then eat betel.

Vāsiṣṭha says:

The wise man does not chew betel before giving
good areca nut and good betel with lime to the gods and Brahmins,
One areca nut gives health and happiness, two is useless,
three is superior, more than that is bad.
The stem on the leaf brings sickness and the tip is harmful.
The leaf with lime takes away health, the veins destroy intellect.
Therefore, the sensible man chews betel,

avoiding the tip, stem, veins in particular, and the leaf with lime.
The tip of a leaf, the stem from a leaf, a crushed leaf, a double leaf,
and an unwashed leaf take away even the glory of Indra.
The man who chews areca nut before putting a leaf in his mouth
will live seven lives of poverty and, at the end, forget Viṣṇu.
He should not chew betel with the lime on his forefinger.
The dullard who does so goes to one of the hot hells.
If he chews betel carelessly prepared with katechu (*khadira*)at night,
he will be poor his whole life, you can be sure of that.
187 Each bite a student, ascetic, widow, or menstruating woman takes
of betel mixed with katechu is like meat mixed with liquor.

Next, Dakṣa says:

After eating, relax and let the food digest.
Spend the sixth and seventh hours of the day reading history and Purāṇas.
At the eighth, take care of business matters outside, then *sandhyā*.

Yājñyavalkya also says:

The rest of the day one should sit with honored people, friends, and family. Y 1.113cd

Finishing the day in this way, when the time for *sandhyā* has passed, perform the *vaiśvadeva* at night, and if the occasion arises, worshipful reception of guests. If one is hungry, then he may eat at night. Some are of the opinion that the *vaiśvadeva* should not be performed at night.

Then, after finishing his duties, he should go to bed. The *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* states that:

After washing his feet, etc., and eating dinner, a householder
should rest on a bed made of wood that is not cracked, my king. VP 3.11.111

Śaṅkha says:

Not on a cot that is broken or has been used by other castes, not sprinkled with water.

Paiṭhīnasi says:

He should sleep without oiling his head. The uninitiated should not sleep on a hide.

188 Viṣṇu says:

He should not sleep in wet clothes, nor should he lie on a bed made of *palāśa* wood, the five timbers, broken tusk, wood struck by lightening, burnt by fire, made of bristle, or without a cover.

VS 70. 1-6

The "five timbers" are five various kinds of wood. "Broken tusk" is ivory.

Also:

If he is not falling asleep well, he should take the betel out of his mouth,
A woman off the sofa, a sectarian mark off the forehead, flowers off the head—
these are at all times the demons of disease, madness, and fear.

In the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*:

> With his head to the east in bed he finds wealth, to the south, long life,
> to the west, a strong mind, and to the north, loss and death.

Gārgya says:

> At home, he sleeps with his head to the east, at his father-in-law's house, to the south,
> when away traveling, to the west, but never to the north.

In the following verse, he is instructed what to do when observances prescribed for the daytime were accidentally neglected:

> Even if he has missed performing the designated daytime observances,
> he can do them in their proper order at the first watch of the night.

In the *Saṁgraha*:

> At the first watch of the night, he should do the daytime observances.
> 189 He should particularly avoid reciting the Vedas and sun worship.

"Sun worship" is chanting the Vedic hymns to Sūrya.

Similarly:

> Gautama said that one may do *vaiśvadeva* and *bali* at night,
> but the five great sacrifices only in the daytime.

Further information on this point may be seen in the *Govindārṇava*.

This concludes the rules for daily observances

> The celebrated Pilājī, limit of the learned, the one ocean of virtue,
> the treasury of good fortune, born from Śrī Keśavadāsa,
> on account of him the learned Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa has investigated
> daily ritual acts in the *Gemstone of Śūdra Conduct*.

Thus is concluded the inquiry into daily observances
in
The Gemstone of Śūdra Conduct

On the Subject of Purity for Śūdras[260]

Baudhāyana says:

> A Brahmin is purified in ten days, a Kṣatriya in twelve days,
> a Vaiśya is purified in fifteen days, and a Śūdra in a month.

Viṣṇu says as well:

> The impurity of a Brahmin on a birth or death lasts for ten days,
> a Kṣatriya for twelve days, a Vaiśya for fifteen days, a Śūdra for a month. VS 22.1-4

190 Devala says that "a Śūdra is purified in 30 days."[261] This applies to the *asat*-Śūdra, because of a text in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, "a Śūdra should cease doing his own duties for a month."[262] The "duties" are the five *mahāyajña*s: serving the twice-born, eating the leftovers of their food, monthly shaving, etc. However, for a *sat*-Śūdra living dutifully, the period of impurity expires in fifteen days.

Yājñavalkya says this:

> For a Kṣatriya twelve days, for Vaiśyas fifteen,
> for Śūdras 30 days, and half that for Śūdras living dutifully. Y 3.22

Manu also says:

> Śūdras living dutifully should shave their head once a month,
> follow the rules of purification laid down for Vaiśyas,
> and eat the leftover food of the twice-born. M 5.140

"For Vaiśyas" means for fifteen days.

Śātātapa's statement that "a Śūdra is purified in 20 days on a death or birth," however, should be taken as referring to a *sat*-Śūdra who has been slightly degraded. The degradation is a matter only of dutiful service to the twice-born, not of things such as the performance of the five great sacrifices. As to what Aṅgiras has said, this applies to a *sat*-Śūdra who is endowed with extraordinarily virtuous conduct, good behavior, detachment, and so forth.[263]

Some view the alternative of 20 days as applying to an ordinary Śūdra in a state of misfor-

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[260] *Aśauca*, the contamination contracted by childbirth or the death of a relation. The impurity may last for varying periods of time, as Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa here sorts out, during which a person so contaminated is not to touch anyone, eat with others, or perform sacred acts.
[261] D 10.11436.
[262] MkP 32.41.
[263] A text of Aṅgiras has been omitted in the edition. It must have prescribed a shorter period than 20 days, as does Śātātapa, or 15 days, as does Yājñavalkya.

191 tune and ten days to a *sat*-Śūdra in a state of misfortune. Others see it as a matter of local custom.

Note that this mixture of periods of impurity for all castes pertains to other ages, as is discussed in a passage of the *Āditya Purāṇa* quoted by Hemādri. In the chapter on things to be avoided in the Kaliyuga, he discusses the contraction of sin depending on behavior and Vedic learning, and after the word "thus," he quotes, "In the Kaliyuga, these rules should be avoided." That means this contraction of the period of impurity spoken of by Devala and others is not feasible in the Kaliyuga.

> A Brahmin who has mastered all the sacrifices and Vedas is purified in one day,
> in three days if he has only the Veda, and in ten if he has neither.[264]

And:

> Four days of impurity are laid down for those who has completed the Vedas,
> Three days of impurity are laid down for the Brahmin who has the sacrifices and Vedas.
> One day only of impurity is enjoined for one who is learned beyond these two.
> One who has accomplished all religious duties plus these is purified on the same day.
> A Kṣatriya is purified progressively in twelve, eleven, and ten days.
> A Vaiśya is purified in fifteen, twelve, and eleven days.
> Half a month of impurity is laid down for the Śūdra of dutiful service.

The reason for this is that virtuous conduct has no tomorrow—such things as offerings in the fire, and service last only three days and Vedic study is but learning by rote.[265] Therefore, in the Kali-

192 yuga, there is only a period of impurity of ten, twelve, and fifteen days, and one month respectively for the four *varṇa*s.

As Hārīta stipulates:

> Ten days only for a Brahmin on the death of a *sapiṇḍa*[266]—
> the man who in the Kaliyuga applies the rules for other ages,
> is confused and culpable.

"Brahmin" implies everyone according to the respective *varṇa*. Consequently, Śātātapa remarks:

> Some hold the view that since a Śūdra is necessarily excluded from the use of *mantra*s,
> there is neither authorization nor prohibition for a month.

However, the impurity of the *kadarya* and such persons is just like that of Brahmins, etc., as Dakṣa says:

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264 Reading *nirguṇo* for a misprinted *nirguṇā*.

265 This seems to be a proverb. The curious words *aśvastanika* (not of tomorrow, of today) and *tryahaihika* (lasting three days) appear in Manu 4.7cd in a different context.

266 *Sapiṇḍa*: "having the same *piṇḍa*" or rice-ball offering; kin who offers *śrāddha* to the same ancestor through six generations in an ascending or descending line.

The ill, the *kadarya*, the debtor, always,
the irreligious, the stupid, and uxorious in particular,
the vice-ridden, servile, and faithless man
has unbounded impurity.
He is never purified of birth pollution as long as he lives.

"Ill," i.e., with an illness that cannot be cured. Devala defines the *kadarya* as:

> One who neglects himself, the performance of his duties, his wife and children, his ancestors and dependents out of avarice is called a *kadarya*.

A "debtor," i.e., one with unpayable debts.

The *Brahma Purāṇa* states in the context of mixed castes:

193 Mixed Śūdra castes should follow the purity/impurity rules.

When there is birth pollution, a Śūdra is ineligible to perform his duties as long as the impurity lasts. The untouchability of the mother herself lasts ten days. But the father becomes touchable simply by bathing.

As Aṅgiras says:

> In birth impurity, bodily contact, except with the mother, is not polluting,
> and nothing but a bath is prescribed for contact with the mother.

Samvarta also says:

> On the birth of a child, a bath in clothing is prescribed for the father.
> The mother is purified in ten days, the father's touch by a bath.

"Purified" means that she becomes touchable. The father is authorized to do his duties at the end of a month. The father maintains his touchability if he has no contact with the mother. If he does, like the mother, he is purified after ten days.

Parāśāra says this:

> If a twice-born seeks contact with a wife who has given birth,
> the pollution becomes his, even if a Brahmin learned in the six Vedāṅgas. P 3.25

"Twice-born" implies the other *varṇa*s. If this is the case for a learned Brahmin, *a fortiori*, how much more so for the others. Therefore, this also applies to a Śūdra, since the rationale is the same.

194 The *Brahma Purāṇa* also says regarding the mother's co-wives:

> Now, if other mothers do not enter her room like him,
> though members of the family, their touch is never polluting.

‘Like him” means like the father. This means that if they go into her room and touch the men, then they become touchable again simply by bathing. But, if they touch the women, then, exactly like the father, they are touchable again after ten nights.

Pracetas, however, says about the touchability rights of women who have given birth:

> Birthing women of every *varṇa* are purified in ten nights.
> And there are no separate rules of impurity for menses.

Since it is “for every *varṇa*,” a Śūdra woman too is purified after ten nights. The period of impurity due to menstruation is no different—three nights as for a Brahmin woman et al.

However, as for the *Brahma Purāṇa*:

> A Brahmin, Kṣatriya, and Vaiśya woman who has delivered is touchable
> after ten days have gone by, a Śūdra woman only after thirteen,

this is referring to an *asat*-Śūdra.

Paiṭhīnasi, discussing her rights to ritual, says:

> She may be permitted to perform rituals upon bathing in 20 days
> after giving birth to a boy, in a month after giving birth to a girl.

The “rituals” are those for the gods and for ancestors. Madanapāla, however, says that it is only proper for her to perform rituals on the birth of a son or daughter after a month has elapsed. And
195 this is logical, since it is contradictory to be allowed to perform rituals in 20 nights when the period of impurity lasts a month.

Regarding touchability after a death in the house, Aṅgiras says:

> The wise must not touch a Śūdra for ten days, but only
> after a full month is he cleansed of birth or death pollution.

Saṁvarta says:

> In four days a Brahmin, in six days a Kṣatriya,
> in eight and ten days a Vaiśya and Śūdra may be touched.

Devala says:

> As *śāstra* shows, a Brahmin, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya, and Śūdra are touchable
> after three periods of impurity—thirteen, fourteen, and fifteen days.
> A Brahmin’s food may be eaten after ten days, and that of the others
> in twelve, thirteen, and sixteen days respectively.

D 10. 1147, 1150

In this text, the sixteen days apply to a Śūdra conducting himself by the rules. Following the rule

of three periods, the untouchability of a Śūdra should go beyond the first period if we accept a series of twelve, thirteen, and sixteen nights of impurity.

Marīci explains the difference between the impurity of miscarriage and abortion:

> When a mother miscarries, she is impure for three nights,
> without any impurity attaching to her family.
> When she has an abortion, she is impure for a month,
> the father and others for three days.

196 This means that if a mother has a miscarriage or loss of the pregnancy in the first trimester she is impure for three nights, but her family and the father have no impurity. Vṛddha Parāśāra, however says the father takes a bath:

> When a pregnancy is lost, women are impure for a month of nights.
> A man just has to bathe.

The "man" is the father. "A month of nights" is for an abortion.

The *Short Parāśāra* defines miscarriage and abortion:

> A miscarriage is within the fourth month and an abortion up to the fifth
> or sixth month; after that is parturition with ten days of impurity. P 3.18

Marīci's statement of three nights in the case of miscarriage refers to Brahmins, since he himself mentions different periods for others. Thus…

The text appears to be torn here. Although two original manuscripts were obtained, because of the unavailability of that part, the text is published as found. [Editor's note]

If a father of a certain *varṇa* has sons by women of other *varṇas* in the *anuloma* direction, the sons are brothers, but of different *varṇas*. When one of these brothers in one *jāti* has birth or death impurity, and their father is alive, a brother in another *jāti* and his sons follow the form of *śrāddha* and the rules of impurity—ten or sixteen nights, etc.—prescribed for the father's *varṇa*. If the father is deceased, the rules appropriate for the mother's *varṇa* apply. If both parents are de ceased when birth or death impurity occurs, the rules appropriate for his own *jāti* apply for all the brothers. So says the *Viṣṇu Smṛti*. "When a master dies his *anuloma* wives and *dāsas* follow the same rules of impurity as the master."[267] This means that *anuloma* wives and *dāsas* of a lower *varṇa* follow the master's rules of impurity, those of a higher *varṇa* in the *pratiloma* direction fol-

[267] VS 22.18-19.

low their own *varṇa* rules. This applies when they reside in the same community with the master, as Bṛhaspati says:

> *Dāsas*, students-in-residence, servants, and students living in the same place
> follow the same purity rules as the master on a birth or death.

"Students-in-residence" refers to perpetual *brahmacārīs*, since "students" are mentioned separately.

Śaṅkha says:

> When an outcaste woman carelessly becomes pregnant,
> the impurity she engenders by giving birth or dying does not cease.

An "outcaste woman" is a Śūdra. "Carelessly" means out of adulterous passion. This is the sense: if an unmarried Śūdra woman has relations with a man of the lowest *varṇa*, i.e. a Śūdra man, and becomes pregnant, her birth and death impurity lasts the life of the begetter of the pregnancy.

198 On the subject of multiple children born to women not of the same *varṇa*, Śaṅkha says:

> If there are many individuals born to the same father and different mothers,
> they have the same *piṇḍas* but follow different purification rules.
> They are *sapiṇḍa* for three generations.

For instance, the sons of one Brahmin father with individually different impurity rules follow their mothers' impurity rules. And they are *sapiṇḍa* for three generations. Hence, they do not follow the impurity rules for *sapiṇḍas* at a birth or death from the fourth generation on. Some read "persons with separate property" instead of "individuals." In which case, "persons of separate property" means persons who have partitioned their property.[268] That is why Baudhāyana says:

> Kṣatriya, Vaiśya, and Śūdra *jātis* follow the paternal impurity rules
> at a birth or death, but, if they are not partitioned, the maternal.

In the *Brahma Purāṇa* too:

> Sons of the Kṣatriya, Vaiśya, and Śūdra *jātis* are *sapiṇḍa* for three generations,
> the sons of Brahmins, too, if they share in an undivided property.
> Those with divided property are all definitely of the mother's *jāti*.

By "mother's *jāti*" is meant the impurity rules customary for the mother's *varṇa*. And so, those with undivided property follow the impurity rules customary for the father's *varṇa.* There is no birth impurity for those of *pratiloma* order, since *smṛti* says they are dharmaless.

199 In the *Brahma Purāṇa*:

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[268] *Vibhakta* in its technical legal sense.

> *Dattaka*, *svayamdatta*, *kṛtrima*, and *kṛta* sons[269] are regarded as being
> of different *gotras*, offering *piṇḍa*s separately, and producing separate family lines.
> On a birth or death they have three days of impurity.

Next, there is *sapiṇḍa* impurity only for three generations for females secluded at home, irrespective of whether they are of the same or different *jātis*.

Vasiṣṭha says:

> Authoritative sources state that unbetrothed females are *sapiṇḍa*
> for three generations.

Note that this is the case for all four *varṇas*.

In the *Brahma Purāṇa*:

> Śūdras living as *dāsas* with daily bread and bodies subject to another
> do not have any sons. Therefore, the son of a *dāsa* and a *dāsī* is a *dāsa* himself.

The son of a *dāsa* male and female is a *dāsa*. "Himself" means that is his name, because if he is born of a married woman, he is an *aurasa* son.[270] For the same reason, he is not a *kṣetraja*, etc. The text expands on this as follows:

> Those who break out of this boundary of mine and live
> as Śūdras, then have the twelve kinds of son.

Madanapāla explains that service, i.e., subjection to the twice-born is the chief way of life for Śūdra *jātis*. Śūdras who break out of this boundary of me, Brahmā, i.e., who abandon their duty of service, and adopt the life of householders, they have the twelve kinds of son, i.e., *aurasa*, *kṣetraja*, and so on.

Also:

> If there is neither an *aurasa* nor a *putrikāsuta*,[271] they can have a *kṣetraja*, etc.
> These eleven kinds of son are of different *gotras* and simply carry on the family line.
> They do everything, *śrāddha*s etc., like them as if they were *dāsas*.
> When there is a birth or death, they share the three-day impurity.

The three days of impurity are specified in the verse:

> Twelve days for a Śūdra, nine for a Vaiśya, and six for a Kṣatriya.

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[269] These are four of the twelve kinds of son once recognized in Hindu law: adopted, self-offered, affiliated grown up, and purchased, respectively

[270] The Sanskrit term *aurasa* does not exactly correspond to our "legitimate." In its purest form, it requires the parents to be of the same caste, proper marriage ritual, and virginity on the bride's part. See Ludo Rocher, "The *aurasa* son," *Makaranda*: *Madhukar Anant Mehendale Festschrift*, edited by M. A. Dhaky and J. B Shah, (Ahmedabad: Sharadaben Chimanbhai Educational Research Centre, 2000):127-38.

[271] *Putrikāsuta*: when a father has no son to perform his *śrāddha* and other such rites, the son of his daughter can be declared to be his son.

Likewise, three nights are prescribed for *samānodakas*[272] on the basis of the statement, "but for water-givers three days," which becomes twelve days when suitably adapted for Śūdras. With "three nights of impurity" taken from a previous verse, the *Viṣṇu Smṛti* says:

> for the current or previous husband in whose house they are
> when previously married wives give birth or die. VS 22.42

"Previously married wives" means women who have abandoned their consecrated husband and attached themselves to another man.

201 Bṛhaspati says that:

> When such women bear a child or die, there are three days of impurity
> for the present or former husband in whose house she herself is living at the time.
> When wives who have lived with another man and children of women by another
> husband die, the highest twice-born men are purified in three nights after bathing.

"The children of women by another husband" are *kṣetraja*s, etc.

Marīci says:

> When a woman gives birth or dies, there are three nights
> of impurity for the earlier and later husbands, but one day
> for the *sapiṇḍas* when it is three nights for the father.

This means that when the father has three nights, his *sapiṇḍas* have only one night.

But in the *Brahma Purāṇa*:

> When a woman given away in marriage by her father
> goes and lives with another man by her own free will,
> whomever she lived with has the higher impurity of three days
> when she dies or has a child, no one else. This is certain.
> But, if she is abducted after the marriage has been consecrated
> by the seven steps, the *gotra* of her master becomes hers.
> The higher impurity varies, thus:
> If she had given birth, the father's, next the earlier husband's;
> if she is a virgin, the other's; if she is a virgin, the husband's *gotra*.
> She is of the same *gotra* as he with whom she has lived of her own accord.

The first sentence means that whomever she lives with, he alone has three nights of impurity on the death, etc., of a "free" woman, but his *sapiṇḍas*, i.e., his sons, etc., do not. "Varies" means is
202 shared. How it is shared is explained in the next sentence. "Virgin" means if she goes with another man without him having been her husband, she takes the former's *gotra* alone. In this case, there are two alternatives for *sapiṇḍas*: no period of impurity at all or one day, depending on the

[272] *Samānodaka*s are the kin of common ancestors of the seventh to fourteenth generations who receive only offerings of water. The first seven are *sapiṇḍa*s receiving both *piṇḍa*s and water. Monier-Williams.

difficulty of the circumstances.

When the period of impurity for a father of Brahmin caste is three nights, that of a Śūdra father is twelve days. Accepting the view that for a Brahmin's relatives it is one night, it follows then that for a Śūdra's relatives it is four nights.

In the *Brahma Purāṇa*, on the death of a young daughter:

> When a girl dies in the time from birth to tonsure,
> her father attains purity on the very same day for all *varṇas*.
> From then to betrothal, in one day.
> After that, when she has married, in three nights.
> After betrothal, it is three nights for both the father and husband-to-be.
> After marriage, three days for the husband alone.
> When she gives birth or dies, let impurity be determined by their own *jāti*s.

Aṅgiras also says:

> Irrespective of caste, before any sacraments are administered,
> purity is attained in three nights. In the case of girls, it is one day.

And:

> When a girl, who has been given in marriage, has a child or dies in
> her father's house, he should follow the purity rules for his own caste completely.
> If she was in a different place, all the relatives are purified in one day,
> the begetter in three.

203 "In a different place" means other than the places in which the father eats, sleeps, worships the gods, etc. In the *Hāralatā* of Aniruddha, when she bears a child or dies, the father does a full purification, but his relatives for three days.

Here, too, it is proper that when the father has three nights of impurity, a Śūdra has twelve, and instead of one day, relatives have four, but, instead of ten days, a month.

With regard to the impurity from the death of a young son Aṅgiras says:

> When a Brahmin boy less than three years old dies,
> purification is for a day and a night.
> When a Kṣatriya dies, purification is in two days, for a Vaiśya in three.
> If a Brahmin dies after tonsure, purification for three nights is approved.
> For a tonsured Kṣatriya, six days, for a tonsured Vaiśya, nine are approved.
> When a Śūdra less than three years old dies, there is purity in five days.
> Beyond that twelve days are ordained when a Śūdra dies.
> If a Śūdra past his sixteenth year dies, the period of purification is a month.
> So says Aṅgiras.

Another digest gives a period of a month for a twelve year old. The author of the *Mitākṣarā*, however, disregarding the opinion of Aṅgiras, says that the impurity based on age for youths is

the same for all of them. Vyāgra says.

> It is same for all when there is an age and also when there is delayed purification.
> When an initiate dies, it differs; but in this case too, the delayed purification is the same.

204 This means that the period of delayed purification is the same, not different, for all *varṇa*s when an age is mentioned in such texts as "up until teething, etc; it is immediate;" when there is what is called delayed purification in such texts as "after three months, it will be three days and nights," "after six months, one day and two nights" "one day before the ninth," "after that, he is purified by bathing," etc.; and even when there are texts prescribing different periods of impurity for different *jāti*s on the death of an initiated boy.

To be sure, for a Śūdra, initiation with the sacred thread is replaced by marriage.[273] Even if unmarried after sixteen years of age, there is only one month of impurity for a deceased Śūdra. As Śaṅkha says:

> If an unmarried Śūdra expires after sixteen years,
> his relatives attain purity in one month. No distinction is made.

But up to tonsure, the parents have three nights of impurity. If the deceased was less than two years old, the parents have no impurity.

According to Pāraskara, "the impurity for another is one and three nights," meaning three nights for the parents, one night for other people.

Manu also says:

> A man who emits seed without issue is purified by a bath;
> the sin of sexual intercourse that begets a child binds for three days.

205 Because of the cause and effect character of sexual intercourse and begetting, there is a period of impurity of three days This impurity is twelve days for a Śūdra.

Special Rules for Śūdras Carrying Out the Dead

Manu says:

> Carry a dead Śūdra out via the southern gate of town, the twice-born
> by the western, northern, and eastern gates, as feasible M 5.63

[273] As it was for women.

Viṣṇu says:

One should not allow a twice-born to be carried out by a Śūdra,
nor a Śūdra by a twice-born. Sons should carry out the father.
Śūdras should not carry out even a twice-born father and mother. VS 19.1-3

"Nor a Śūdra by a twice-born" is referring to people other than the son, since he explicitly says that "Sons should carry out the father," meaning, even if he is a Śūdra. The statement that "Śūdras should not carry out even a twice-born father and mother" is an exception to the rule and applies when twice-born are present at the obsequies, as Yājñvalkya says:

One should not let a dead Brahmin be carried out by a Śūdra
when his own people are present.

In the *Brahma Purāṇa*:

The corpse of a man is picked up and placed on the pyre face down
with the feet to the south by those born in his own *gotra*.
206 A woman is laid out face up even by *sapiṇḍa* relatives.

This pertains to Śūdras and twice-born without a sacred fire, because with respect to one who has lit a sacred fire at home, Kātyāyana says:

He should be placed on the ground spread with *kuśa* grass, his head to the south.

In the *Brāhmāṇḍa Purāṇa*:

Even a poor man should not be cremated naked in any kind of distress—
cover him carefully with a some piece of clothing.

This applies to all *varṇas*.

Yama says:

A Śūdra is not to pick up and carry a deceased sacrifice-performer.
The man whom a Śūdra brings fire, grass, wood, and burnt offerings
will remain ever in the condition of being dead,
and he will be filled with unrighteousness.

"And he" is the Śūdra. Cremation of Śūdras is without any Vedic mantras, as is evident in the exclusion of *mantra* by Manu in the text that goes:

from conception to cremation, the performance of rites with sacred verse
is prescribed for him...

On the subject of *añjalis* of water, the *Brahma Purāṇa* states:

First washing the garments in which the deceased is shrouded,
the mourners are to bathe in their clothing washing away all impurity.
Then, everyone should put water and sesame on a flat stone

207 and offer ten *añjalis*, one by one, for a Brahmin,
twelve for a Kṣatriya, fifteen for a Vaiśya,
and thirty for a departed Śūdra

This is the single series offering of *añjalis*. In the increasing series of *añjalis*, this restriction of the number per *varṇa* does not apply. The same text explains this as follows:

One *piṇḍa* only should be offered on each successive day.
One *añjali* of water and one bowl is offered.
On the second day two *añjalis* and two bowls,
on the third day, three, on the fourth day, four,
on the fifth day, five, on the sixth day, six, on the seventh day, seven,
on the eight day, eight, on the ninth day, nine, and on the tenth day, ten.
In this way there should be 55 *añjalis* in all
and as many bowls of water filled with sesame etc.
Offer *piṇḍas* for the *pretas* following regional custom.
The tenth *piṇḍa* should be given on the tenth day for Kṣatriyas
and on the fifteenth day for Vaiśyas.
For Śūdras, the tenth *piṇḍa* is given in a full month.

That is, on the day at the end of a complete month. This is the ten-*piṇḍa*-offering.

208 Pāraskara gives a similar number of *piṇḍas*:

For a Brahmin ten *piṇḍas* are recommended, for a Kṣatriya twelve,
for a Vaiśya fifteen, and for a Śūdra thirty.
Offer at least ten *piṇḍas* for the *pretas* of all *varṇas*.

Even if the period of impurity happens to be three nights, at least ten *piṇḍas* are offered for a Śūdra, no less than that, beginning with the bringing of *pālāśa* wood, *kuśa* grass, and fire.

As Śātātapa says:

Although the period of impurity is shorter, he should still offer ten *piṇḍas*.

Pāraskara explains the manner in which to offer them:

On the first day, those gathered together should offer three *piṇḍas*.
On the second day, offer four and collect the bones.
On the third day, offer three and wash one's clothing.
Afterwards, the rite of *ekoddiṣṭa śrāddha* is done.

"Afterwards" means on the fourth day.

In the *Brahma Purāṇa*:

Even in immediate purification, all the *piṇḍas* are given simultaneously.
In the case of three-day impurity, on the first day one is bestowed,
on the second day, four, and on the third day, five.

Ten *piṇḍas* must be given in all periods of impurity, because they complete the body. We should infer from this that offering more *piṇḍas* than ten is an excess or superabundance of benefit to the

209 deceased, and recognize that in a state of misfortune, the body of the deceased may be consummated and perfected even with zero *piṇḍas*, as we learn from the teachings of *śāstra*. I do not go here into non-specifics, since they are common to other *varṇa*s. They can be consulted in the *Govindārṇava*.

Decisions about *Ekoddiṣṭa*[274]

Some say the first *śrāddha* is on the eleventh day, according to the *Vṛddha Vasiṣṭha*:

> This *srāddha* offered on the eleventh day is the same
> for all four *varṇas*, but the period of impurity varies for each.

One should not raise the question how is someone in a state of impurity qualified to offer it, because Śaṅkha says:

> Even the impure should do the first *śrāddha* on the eleventh day.
> The performer is pure while doing it and becomes impure again.

Others say that one offers *śrāddha* at the end of the period of impurity on the basis of the statement in the *Viṣṇu Smṛti*:

> Now, when impurity is over.

In this case, it is determined by local custom, as at *vṛṣotsarga*. Although a Śūdra is not eligible for *vṛṣotsarga homa* because of its close connection with Vedic mantras, he may perform *vṛṣotsarga* without *homa*. If he does, he should invite the Brahmins, etc., on the day before or the same day. The way to do it is common to all *varṇas* and has been explained elsewhere. But the difference is:

210
> A Brahmin takes hold of the right foot, a Kṣatriya the left,
> a Vaiśya two feet, and a Śūdra after bowing.

If, in some Vedic school, the invitation also includes the recitation of a mantra, then when the invitation is made by a Śūdra instructed in that branch, the word *namaḥ* instead should be considered as the mantra. For those, however, in which there is no mantra, but a simple expression of invitation, a Śūdra instructed therein should recite the expression, and also the word *namaḥ*. So too, when offering water for the feet, seats, etc., a similar use and non-use of the *namaḥ* mantra should be recognized. After the offering of foot-water, the Brahmin should present his left foot to the Śū-

[274] The *śrāddha* ceremony for a one recently deceased individual (*preta*), not including the ancestors. It is a modification of *pārvaṇarāddha* for three generations of *pitṛ*s and performed at times varying in the *smṛti*s, perhaps reflecting regional customs for last rites.

dra for washing according to the text "the left foot to the Śūdra." The rest is the same.

The main time for the rite of *sapiṇḍana*[275] is at the end of a year, according to a text in the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa*:

> A sacrificer without sacred fires should perform *sapiṇḍana*
> for the dead without sacred fires in a full year, O prince of the Bharatasā.
>
> The ceremony may also take place in twelve days, six months,
> three fortnights, three months, or in eleven months.

If a year is not possible, according to the essential meaning of the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa*, the best time is the eleventh month, because of its closeness to a year, and because it limits the series of times. If that is not possible, Paiṭhīnasi says the ninth month. If that is not possible, half a year, according to the text in Gobhila, "at the end of a full year, or in six months, or three fortnights, or when a
211 day of good fortune such as a birth occurs." If that not possible, then in three months, according to the text quoted above from the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa*. Then three fortnights. In this case, after the period of impurity is over, in twelve consecutive days make the twelve monthly *śrāddha* offerings, completing the twelfth on day twelve. Some do *sapiṇḍana* on day thirteen. If this procedure is not possible, make all twelve offerings on the same day, and then do *sapiṇḍana*. As Marīci says:

> If he is unable to repeat *śrāddha* monthly
> he may do it either in twelve days or on one day on the twelfth.

This is so as well with regard to a day of good fortune,[276] for as Gobhila says, "a day on which good fortune occurs, is the day."

Of all these times, Vyāgra says that twelve days is the recommended one:

> The lives of mortal men decay and family duties are endless;
> because of the instability of the body twelve days is preferred.

The *Vṛddha Manu* says:

> *Sapiṇḍana* is on the twelfth day for Brahmins, at the end of the period
> of impurity for Kṣatriyas, and after three fortnights for Vaiśyas.

The twelfth day is the Śūdra's best time for *sapiṇḍana*. The *Viṣṇu Smṛti* says so with the word

[275] *Sapiṇḍīkaraṇa*, the ceremony of reception after a year of the deceased into the community of *pitṛ*s who receive *piṇ-ḍa*s. See Kane IV 520 -25.
[276] A *vṛddhiśrāddha*. See Kane IV: 526-528.

sapiṇḍatā understood.

> The twelfth day without *mantra* is recommended for Śūdras. VS 21.20

212 Because of the text that one becomes pure at the time one performs the rite, it is not inconsistent to perform it in the midst of the period of impurity. Such is the practice in Madhyadeśa.

Easterners, however, say that *sapiṇḍana* is only at the end of the period of impurity because of the statement in the *Viṣṇu Smṛti*, "Now when impurity is over," and in consideration of the rule that:

> The tenth *piṇḍa* for a deceased Śūdra is offered at the end of a full month.

Sapiṇḍana has the character of both *ekoddiṣṭa* and *pārvaṇa śrāddha*. In this case, after inviting one Brahmin in the place of the deceased for *ekoddiṣṭa* with a gift of betel and other things, at the same time invite Brahmins for *pārvaṇa śrāddha* for the grandfather etc., one Brahmin for each or together, first performing the *vaiśvadeva*. The formula of invitation to be used by a Śūdra goes: "Please take a moment, honorable sirs, and favor us by standing in for our grandfather who is of such-and-such *gotra*," and so forth. When the father of a Śūdra is of a twice-born caste, or even when the father is Śūdra, but the latter's father and grandfather are of twice-born caste, then the names, Sharma, Varma, and Gupta should be used respectively for Brahmins, Kṣatriyas, and Vaiśyas. When the father, etc., in a family is of illicit birth, even though the father is impure, the son should be associated with grandfathers, etc., who are born of legitimate marriages, because there is a relation of progenitor and progeny.

Kātyāyana says that *ekoddiṣṭa* should be done this way:

> Now *ekoddiṣṭa*—one cup, one *argha*, one *piṇḍa*, no invocation, no burnt offerings, no *vaiśvadeva* offerings. The question of satisfaction is, "Was it alright?" The answer
> 213 of assent is, "It tasted very good." Spread the food on the ground for birds.[277] The conclusion is, "Come, be delighted," to which the others reply, "We are delighted."
>
> *Śrāddhasutra*, khaṇḍaka 4

Yājñavalkya says:

> *Ekoddiṣṭa* is offered without the Viśvadevas, with one *argha*, one *pavitra*,
> no invocation or sacred fire, and the thread over the right shoulder. Y 1.256

[277] This is my loose conjecture for *pakṣasthāna*. But a *pakṣa* is not a bird—that would require *pakṣi*. The text may need emendation.

In the *Matsya Purāṇa*:

Say "It tasted good" at the scattering of food and at the send-off, "Be delighted."

Meaning he is only to say "It tasted good" in the place of scattering *piṇḍas* and should not scatter *piṇḍas*.

As for what is said in the *Aśvalāyana Gṛhya Pariśiṣṭa*, beginning with "as to *ekoddiṣṭha śrāddha* however":

> He should scatter the remains of food on the ground, a watery remnant,
> for those among the previously deceased (*anupreteṣu*) without progeny and without life.
> And without mentioning by name the deceased,
> one *pavitra*, one *piṇḍa* is used at all times, but no offerings in a sacred fire,
> no *svadhā*, and no "*abhiramyatām*" ("Be delighted").
> Saying " May it be well," he should spread the food once avoiding the sacred syllable.
> For the *piṇḍa* of *ekoddiṣta* the prefix "*anu*" is not used.
> Nor should he use the word "*pitṛ*." The one who does so becomes a parricide.

"A watery remnant" means the particles of food and water wiped from the hand with *darbha*
214 grass. The prefix "*anu*" in the word *anupreteṣu* has the sense of anteriority. He should spread the food for those among the previously deceased without progeny. The phrase "without life" implies the *saṁskāras*, and therefore means those who have died without the *saṁskāras*. And the *mantra* proves it:

> To those deceased without the sacraments, I will give this scattering of rice,
> and to women who have deserted their family, the paternal offering.

"Without mentioning" means that the deceased are not mentioned by name, but addressed as *preta*. Wherever in *ekoddiṣṭa* for one or in *pārvana śrāddha* food offerings are spread, scatterings of food remnants should be offered everywhere for the previously deceased. They interpret it this way: For the eleven days which precede *sapiṇḍana*, instead of spreading foods offerings, the word "svāhā" is exclaimed and "svadhā" is prohibited, and there is no "abhiramyatām." By the word "anu" is intended the mantra " ye ca tvām atra anu," which is not used. "The word pitṛs" means that the *pitṛs* are divine and their names have the form of Vasu, Rudra, Āditya, and so forth, and are not to be uttered. The other requirements of *śrāddha* are common to all and well known everywhere, so I will not describe them here.

This raises the question how does a Śūdra have any connection with *gotra*s and *pravara*s, of

gotras since they are non-*dvija* and only *dvijas* produce *gotra*s and *pravara*s?[278]

215 Accordingly, in the *Matsya Purāṇa* Manu asks:

> Recount in detail the names and *gotras* of the Ṛṣis, their lines of descent
> and the similarities and differences of their *pravara*s. MP 195.2

To this request Matsya replied:

> Bṛgu took to wife the divine daughter of Loman,
> and she bore twelve divine sacrificers:
> Manava, Bhānava, Sujanya, Sujana,
> Kratu, Śuci, Mūrdhan, Janya, Vasava,
> Prabhava, Avyaya, and Daksa the twelfth.
> These are regarded as the twelve Bṛgus.
> The son of Pulasti begat the youngest of the divine ones,
> the blessed and blind Cyavana.

In this passage the promotion of *gotra* is entirely attributed to *dvijas* alone. For this reason the authors of the *Kalpa Sūtras* mention *gotras* for the twice-born only. Although ancestral Ṛṣis are not directly mentioned for Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas, they obtain them by extension. As Āśvalāyana says:

> He chooses priests who are in the sacrificer's line of venerable forbears,
> for Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas.

Since venerable forebears are attributed to them when setting a sacrificial fire and so forth, the family name is also attributed to them by extension: venerable forebears imply a *gotra* as in the
216 phrase "for such-and-such *gotras*, such and such illustrious forbears." The Śūdra, however, having no contact with *yajña*, does not obtain them even by extension. That the Śūdra has no connection with sacrifice is shown in the *Kūrma Purāṇa*:

> The Lord created Brahmins from his mouth, Kṣatriyas from his arms,
> The Grandfather created Vaiśyas from his thighs and Śūdras from his feet.
> Brahmā created them to perform sacrifice, excepting the Śūdra. KP 1.2.25-26

On this question some say that a *gotra* is the name one adopts by extending the name of some famous person born in a good family. Commonly Śūdras born to legitimately married Śūdra women and *dvijāti* father use the *gotra* name for seven generations, until the end of *piṇḍa* offerings, and even in succeeding generations continue to use that *gotra* name. In line with this opinion is

[278] *Pravara*s are the three (sometimes two or five) illustrious ancestors, especially the seven *ṛṣis*, from whom the 42 *gotra*s descend and after whom they are eponymously named. They function exogamously, since marriage is avoided between those with the same *gotra* and *pravara*s. See Kane IV: 483-500 for details.

Baudhāyana when he remarks:

> For the fathers of all four *varṇas* according to the *gotra* of the father…

But others say that his *gotra* is the *gotra* of the Brahmin who instructs him. For this reason experts on this define Śūdra thus:

> Those who have no relation to *gotra* and venerable ancestors either by specific designation or inferential extension are considered Śūdras among the *varṇas*.

Hemādri, however, says: "Since Śūdras have no *gotra* the phrase 'according to *gotra*, *piṇḍa-dāna*' must refer to a Śūdra born to a *dvijāti*. Or, on the basis of the scriptural text 'therefore they
217 say that all the offspring are Kāśyapas,' all Śūdras must be of the *gotra* of Kāśyapa."

Similarly, Vyāgrapad says:

> If *gotra* is lost, then it is Kāśyapa.

A Discussion of *Śrāddha*

> "Devoted to his wife, pure, supporting his family, diligently performing *śrāddha*."[279]

Yājñavalkya shows by this text that a Śūdra is eligible for *śrāddha* in general. In the *Matsya Purāṇa* it also says with regard to *śrāddha*:

> The Śūdra should do it by this rule without Vedic *mantra*s.
> MP 17.64 dc

> Thus, even a wise Śūdra should always perform general
> and *vṛddhi śrāddha* with the *namaskāra mantra* and with raw food.
> MP 17.70

"General" means applicable to all. Since distinctions of caste are not mentioned, the rite should be performed by those without fires, students, the afflicted, widows, and Śūdras. Obligatory, occasional, or optional observances should be performed on days of the new moon, *yugādi*, *manvādi*, eclipses, and *vyatīpāta*—all this is included. "With raw food" means with uncooked only.

Uśanas says this:

> A twice-born should do *śrāddha* with uncooked offerings in adversity, in the absence of a fire, at a *tīrtha*, and during a lunar or solar eclipse. A Śūdra always should.

As for the view expressed in the *Varāha Purāṇa* that the *sat*-Śūdra is permitted *śrāddha* with

[279] 1.121ab

cooked offerings:

> Men in the three castes should make cooked food offerings,
> and Śūdras, who are devoted to service, O fair one.
218 On the thirteenth day, Brahmins should be served cooked meals.
>
> VrP 186.6-7

> Śūdras should follow a rule of this kind without Vedic mantras.
> The mantraless Śūdra takes a Brahmin with the mantra.
>
> VrP 188.48

Some commentators say that this is concerned with another *yuga* because of its absolute detestability.

In the *Matsya Purāṇa*:

> When properly offering ordinary *śrāddha* with uncooked grain,
> perform *agnaukaraṇa*[280] *with it* and offer *piṇḍas* with it as well (*eva*).
>
> MP 18.26

This when/then conditional phrase refers to the twice-born, since Śūdras are always enjoined to do *śrāddha* with uncooked grain. Or it may refer to another *yuga*, since *piṇḍas* of things such as rice pudding and barley meal[281] are also enjoined. The word *eva* means "as well."

Agnaukaraṇa is for Śūdras too, as we see from verses in the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa* quoted by Hemādri:

> If a Śūdra is a seeker and knower of dharma,
> the *agnaukaraṇa mantra* and *namaskāra* are prescribed.
> Here is how a Śūdra should perform invocation—
> He should offer the *piṇḍas* and so forth to the gods with their divine names
> and to the *pitṛ*s with their names and *gotra*s.

It should be done in water, and so on, according to the *Matsya Purāṇa*:

> When fire is not available, over the hand of a Brahmin, or in water,
> over a goat's or horse's ear, in a cowpen, or near river water.
>
> MP 15.32-33

219 Although generally in this text the Śūdra is said to be entitled to *śrāddha*, nonetheless, he

is not entitled to those rites that cannot be performed without sacred fires, such as the monthly *śrāddha*[282]

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[280] In the *Gṛhyasūtra*s, *agnaukaraṇa* is the casting of offerings (*āhuti*s) of the food prepared for the *śrāddha* dinner and clarified butter into the fire after the Brahmins have been invited. See Kane (IV 438, 478.

[281] Emending *satkva* to *saktu* "barley meal."

[282] *piṇḍānvāhāryaka*. This is the monthly *śrāddha* for ancestors offered on the day of the new moon. *Cf.* Manu 3.123.

[The manuscript is damaged here]

The bringing of clay, shaping the image, its consecration, bathing, for the sake of *pūjā*, *namaskāra*, at the final prayer of dismissal-farewell.

Om. Adoration to Hara. I bring clay.
Om. Adoration to Maheśvara. I mold it into an image.
Om. Adoration to Svayambhu. I consecrate the image.
Om. Adoration to Śūlapāṇi. I invoke you.
Om. Adoration to Pinākidhṛk. I bathe you.
Om. Adoration to Mahādeva. I offer *pūjā*.
Om. Adoration to Paśupati. *Namaskāra*.
Om. Adoration to Mahādeva. Grant us farewell.
Om. Adoration to Śiva in the form of earth.
Om. Adoration to Bhava in the form of water.
Om. Adoration to Rudra in the form of fire.
Om. Adoration to Ugra in the form of air.
220 *Om*. Adoration to Bhīma in the form of space.
Om. Adoration to Paśupati in the form of the sacrificer.
Om. Adoration to Mahādeva in the form of the moon.
Om. Adoration to Iśāna in the form of the sun.
Om. Adoration to Dakṣināmūrti in the form of Śrī Guru.

The images should be dismissed in the water at a *tīrtha*.

Do not perform *tarpaṇa* with sesame seed on a Sunday, Tuesday, or Friday falling in the constellation *Maghā*, on the seventh day of *Anaṅga*, in ones's house, at night, on birthdays and felicitous occasions, or at dawn and twilight. Perform it only with water.

One should not incur pollution on the occasion of a marriage, vow, tonsure, and good fortune, on the thirteen, first, sixth, and eleventh lunar days, and on a death, *Mahālaya śrāddha*, pilgrimage to Gayā, an auspicious day, and on arriving at a *tīrtha*.

On an occasion of prosperity face east, with the sacred thread over the left shoulder, with *darbha* grass cut even, with barley instead of sesame; *piṇḍas* are optional; pray without *pitṛmantras* with an even number of Brahmins present, not saying *svadhā*, but *svāhā*.

With jujube berries, curd, and unbroken rice chant "in perfect joy they enter the divine *tīrtha* and may they be comforted forever."

This is said merely as a pointer. The rest is all explained at length in the *Govindārṇava*. Therefore I stop here.

The great Pilājī, most honorable of men, the one ocean of virtue, treasure of good fortune,
born from Śrī Keśavadāsa, it is on his account alone that this inquiry was made
into the rites for the fathers in the *Gemstone of Good Śūdra Conduct*,
composed by the learned and accomplished Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa.[283]

King Pilājī, at every moment in a moment clear-sightedly
discerning the good and non-good,
liberal patron of Brahmins, alert protector of his people,
lighting up the face of the south with a blaze of unequalled valor,

[283] This stanza in *sārdūlavikrīḍita* meter concludes the last chapter as it does the first section (32) and chapters 1 (78) and 2 (189) of the second section.

defeating his enemies over the land, he is victorious.
Receiving life from the lotus feet of Hari,
bestowing his munificence upon the twice-born,
child of the heavenly Ganges in his earlier life, son of Keśava,
he commissioned with the greatest care the composition
of this short but complete treatise, entrusting the task to Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa.[284]

And so is concluded the *Gemstone of Śūdra Conduct,* composed by Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa at the urging of Śrī Pilājī, great devotee of Viṣṇu, jewel of his family and *varṇa*, sprung from the lotus feet of Śrī Hari and the Yādavas.

[284] With these two stanzas the first in *pṛthivī* meter (17 syllables x 4), and the second in *mālinī* (15 syllables x 4), Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa concludes the book

7

Śūdradharma: The Brahmanization of the Śūdra

A Short History of Śūdras

D.D. Kosambi and R.S. Sharma are of the view that the Śūdra originated as the laboring class when Āryan society shifted from pastoralism to agriculture during the late Vedic period (1000-500 BC).[1] For Kosambi, Śūdras were the helots of India. Enslavement through war played a role, but both regard the view common in colonial literature that the Śūdra *varṇa* was made up of indigenous, pre-Ārya, racially (e.g., *kṛṣṇa anāsa dasyu*) and ethnically alien peoples conquered by the Āryans as one-sided and partial.

To be sure, an Ārya conquest has itself become a sensitive subject in recent scholarship. Sharma, like Asko Parpola and others, thinks both Ārya and non-Ārya peoples were subjugated as the fourth *varṇa* through a process mainly of internal domination and exploitation. There is no evidence that they spoke anything but Ārya languages in the early Vedic period and much that they did in late Vedic times (e.g., Vedic Sanskrit formulas addressed to them, etc.) The emergence of the Śūdra *varṇa* is a later development: there was no such class of laborers in Ṛg Vedic society. There are no Śūdras in the *Ṛg Veda*. Vedic society was tribal and relatively egalitarian, without sharp class divisions.

The Vedic people at first had only two *varṇa*s: their own, which they called the Āryas, and Dāsas (or Dasyus). The Dāsas may have been another Vedic people who had migrated earlier into the northwest, or some other branch of Indo-Iranians who spoke a non-Sanskritic language or had a different religion. "Śūdra" was also very likely the name of another such Indo-Aryan tribe. After the Dāsas and Śūdras were subjugated by Vedic-Sanskrit-speaking

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[1] These are the basic sources used to prepare this historical survey of Śūdras. First place goes to Ram Sharan Sharma on whom I have heavily relied. *Śūdras in Ancient India: A Social History of the Lower Order down to circa A.D. 600*; *Early Medieval Society: A Study in Feudalisation* (Hyderabad: Orient Longman, 2001*); Social Life in Northern India with reference to Bihar, cir. A.D. 1000-1300*, ed. by Naseem Akhtar (Patna, 2001); R.S. Sharma, *Indian Feudalism, AD 300-1000*, 2nd ed. (New Delhi, 1968); *Urban Decay in India, c.300-1000* (New Delhi, 1987); and, *State and Varna Formation in the mid-Ganga plains: an ethnoarchaeological view* (Delhi, 1996). D.D. Kosambi, *An Introduction to the Study of History*, rev. 2nd ed., (Bombay, 1975); and *Combined Methods in Indology and Other Writings*, ed. by B. Chattopadhyaya (Oxford University Press, 2002). Suvira Jaiswal, *Caste: Origin, Function and Dimensions of Change* (New Delhi: Manohar, 1998); Sangeet Kumar, *Changing Role of the Caste System: A Critique* (Jaipur: Rawat Pub., 2005); G.S. Ghurye, *Class and Caste in India* (Bombay, 1950); *Caste, Class and Occupation* (Bombay, 1961). N.K. Dutt, *Origin and Growth of Caste in India* 2 vols. (Calcutta, 1968). Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India, 1556-1707*, 2nd rev. ed. (New Delhi, 1999); *Essays in Indian History: Towards a Marxist Perception* (New Delhi, 1995); *Akbar and his India* (New Delhi, 1997); *Medieval India: The Study of a Civilization* (National Book Trust: 2007); The *Cambridge Economic History of India, c. 1200-1750*, Vol. I ed. by Tapan Raychaudhuri and Irfan Habib (Cambridge University Press, 1982-); Burton Stein, *A History of India* (Blackwell, 1998); and Romila Thapar*, Early India: from the origins to A.D. 1300* (London: Penguin, 2002).

peoples, "Dāsa" came to mean slave or serf and, when the *cāturvarṇya* classification came into use in post-Vedic times, Śūdra was used to designate a large number of peoples forced into subject status.[2] Other marginal groups outside of mainstream Ārya society—wandering bands of warrior ascetics—the Vrātyas—and tribal peoples like the Niṣādas with their own religious practices were put into this class. "Dāsa" eventually comes to mean Śūdra, and both to mean servants and laborers, and generally those of low social status.[3]

This set the pattern thereafter for the induction of peoples into caste. Tribal and indigenous peoples of diverse ethnic, racial, and cultural character, but also later occupations, guilds, and religious sects were absorbed into caste as Śūdras. The many groups assimilated as Śūdras were marked by their segregation from Vedic ritual and often had their own rituals and gods. The central dynamic setting caste formation into motion was the transition from *jana* to *jāti* converting tribes, hunter-gatherers, shifting cultivators, pastoralists, and forest dwellers into castes segmented by inherited livelihood, endogamy, common customs, religion and sect. Segmentation and stratification slots multifarious peoples into the social scale, mostly at the bottom as Śūdras and *antyaja* sub-castes, but the ruling and martial elements as Kṣatriyas. To function smoothly, such a system needs a convincing explanation. Dharmaśāstra was that explanation. For Romila Thapar, *jāti* precedes *varṇa*.[4] *Varṇa* is an ex post facto justification. One of the main, if not *the* main, functions of Dharmashastric *varṇa* was the production and control of labor power.

The "Puruṣasūkta" (RV X.90)," thought to be a late interpolation in the tenth book of the *Ṛg Veda*, reflects the late Vedic period (ca. 800 CE) when tribal pastoral society was breaking down into classes and new populations where incorporated. The "hymn of man" with its derivation of the four *varṇa*s from the cosmic body of Puruṣa—Brāhmaṇas from the mouth, Kṣatriyas from the arms, Vaiśyas from the thighs, and Śūdras from the feet—is the earliest theory of the origin of the four *varṇa*s. Through replication in later Vedic texts, Purāṇas, epics, and Dharmaśāstras, it became the *locus classicus* on the topic. Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa duly begins his account of the origin of the Śūdras with it.

The strained etymology of Śūdra from "*śuc*" in the *Brahma Sūtra* was a rationalization of the fourth *varṇa*'s increasing exploitation and immiseration in post-Vedic times. Ideas of untouchability and the Śūdra's impurity were now introduced. Kosambi believed that the effect of these was to sanction a class structure in clan and tribal socie-

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[2] Kosambi 51.
[3]Ludo Rocher shows that *śūdra* and *dāsa* become interchangeable terms. "Dāsadāsī," *JAOS* 122 (2002): 374-80.
[4] *Early India*, 62-67, 122-25, 422.

ties. The Śūdras' deprivation was also now justified by the theory of *karma* in addition to divine creation, as in these verses in the *Śāntiparvan*:

> Sarasvatī, consisting of the Veda, was formerly designed by Brahma for all four *varṇa*s;
> but the Śūdra, having through cupidity fallen into ignorance, a condition of darkness,
> lost the right to the Veda.
>
> ŚP 181.15

On this view, Śūdras had once enjoyed a right to the Vedas but had lost it through their immorality and ignorance.

The following is a rough periodization of Śūdra disqualification. For Vedic times, there is some evidence of more equal participation in ritual, as discussed below. Even women may have enjoyed greater freedom and status and received forms of *upanayana* in Vedic times. In late Vedic times with declension into increasing inequality, Śūdras lost their earlier community and tribal rights.[5] Once dignified *viś* occupations—smithing, carpentry, and tanning—were downgraded to the work of Śūdras.[6] The line between *dvija*s and Śūdras sharpened. Vaiśyas and Śūdras, as the classes producing the surplus and paying taxes, feature more prominently in the *Brāhmaṇa*s with the rise of prosperous kingdoms.

In the Dharmasūtra period (600-300 BC), we see the imposition of more severe exclusions and punishments and the piling on of disqualifications and purity rules relating to food, contact, and marriage. The *sūtrakāra*s reflected and ideologically enforced the increasing subjection of Śūdras as exploited labor in the period of Mauryan state formation and forced labor. They now declare that the chief duty of Śūdras is service to the twice-born. Buddhism and Jainism, for all their critiques of Vedic Brahmanism, work effectually to stabilize the emerging caste order. The Buddhists critiqued Brahmanical *varṇa* distinctions while accepting the class inequalities between Kṣatriyas, *gahapati*s (landed householder), *seṭṭhi*s (merchants), members of *śreṇi*s (craft guilds) and the laboring castes. The ideas of *karma* and rebirth developed by the *śramama* movements become a doctrinal plank of the Brahmanical social order, justifying inequality, most notably in the *Bhagavad-Gita*.

Free peasant production by landowners employing landless Śūdras and *antyaja*s as labor was established as the primary mode of agriculture in post-Mauryan times. The Greek ambassador to Chandragupta's court (ca. 300 BCE), Megasthenes, corroborates the role of free peasantry. He observed seven social classes (*genea*) but no slavery as in Greek lands. Kosambi takes his class of *georgoi* (independent farmers, landowners) to be Śūdras, but they were probably Vaiśyas in Brahmanical terms, or the *gahapati*s in Buddhist texts. Vaiśyas were only supplanted by Śūdras

[5] It was now in Sharma's view that Śūdras were excluded from *upanayana* and, consequently, Vedic education. *Śūdras in Ancient India,* 75.
[6] Dutt, *Origin and Growth of Caste*, 49, 83.

in agriculture in Gupta times. The main bulk of the Śūdras were still employed as field hands, but many were artisans and performing artists (dancers, musicians, actors, etc.). Some wealthy Śūdra artisans, no doubt, became *gahapati*s.

Disqualification reaches it peak in the following period (200-300 CE) in the law-book of Manu, notorious as the epitome of Brahmanical prejudice. Its reactionary tone reflects the crisis of *varṇa* in an age of political and social turmoil as distinctions between Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas, and Śūdras broke down under the impact of invasion and rule by foreigners—Greeks, Huns, and Kushans—whom orthodox Brahmins regarded as Śūdras. Manu confirms the injunctions in Āpastamba, Baudhāyana, and Gautama restricting Vedic study to the twice-born. The function of the state is to enforce Śūdra servitude. This demand becomes explicit in the Dharmasūtras with their insistence that the chief duty of the fourth *varṇa* is to serve the three higher. Brahmins applied the disparaging term "Śūdra" to kings of non-Kṣatriya origin or non-Vedic practice such as the Nandas and Mauryas. While Buddhist texts called the Mauryas Kṣatriyas, using Brahmanism's language, Brahmin texts called them Vaiśyas or Śūdras.

Sharma describes a marked betterment in the lives of Śūdras in the Gupta period. Wages for hired laborers and craftsmen rose, and hired laborers became peasants and tenant-cultivators. Guilds of Śūdra artisans throve. Śūdras paid taxes and their wage rates and conditions of work were regulated. Slavery diminished. While most Śūdras continue to be agricultural laborers in the country and wage earners, servants, and menial laborers in town serving upper castes, the social standing of some Śūdras improves appreciably as they take up occupations in arts, crafts, manufacture, trade, and intermarry with Vaiśyas in commerce and trade. Demographically, their numbers begin growing as tribal peoples are absorbed into the caste system as peasants and laborers. [7]

The law gave them some measure of protection from violence and security of property. The *nibandha*s show that legal discrimination, certainly of the severely punitive kind, virtually disappeared by the 12th century. Arvind Sharma cites three *nibandha*s as evidencing this effective doing away with real discrimination on the basis of caste: the *Smṛticandrikā* of Devaṇṇa Bhaṭṭa (ca. 1200 CE), which Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa quotes from twice, the *Mandanaratna* of

[7] The *śūdravarga* of the *Amarakoṣa,* a dictionary of commonly used Sanskrit words, gives us a vivid snapshot of working class life in the Gupta age. Amara shows Śūdras engaged in a great variety of livelihoods as craftsmen, artisans, and performing artists in the classical categories of occupations and *jāti*s found in Manu. The *jāti*s are engendered by miscegenation by the standard *varṇasaṅkara* combinatory and are, essentially, as they will remain up to Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa, by which time they are entirely outmoded as descriptions. The occupations are ranked from tradesmen and craft guilds down to performing artists, trappers, hunters and butchers, and below them, unskilled laborers (*antyaja*s). Craftsmen employed by the village are distinguished from independent workers. D. D. Kosambi, "The Working Class in the Amarakośa," in *Combined Methods in Indology and Other Writings*, 283-294.

Madanasiṁha (1425 CE), and the *Sarasvatīvilāsa* of Pratāparudra (1496-1539 CE).[8] Certainly, by Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa's day, the savage penalties in Gautama are a dead letter, if, indeed, they ever had any force beyond the symbolic.[9]

The improvements in the social position of Śūdras in the Gupta period, riding on the wave of popular Vaiṣṇavism, led to a mitigation of the disqualifications of Śūdras. When some Śūdras became prosperous peasants, artisans, and tradesmen rather than slaves, servants, and agricultural laborers, the degraded status laid down for them in the Dharmasūtras (500-200 BCE) became too incongruous. This state of affairs was remedied by the emendation of their religious rights. Vaiṣṇavism was the vehicle for this reformation, bringing Śūdras within the community of worship; although, practically speaking, Vaiṣṇava devotional salvationism, as both challenge to and tool of orthodoxy in the competitive space between Buddhism and Brahmanism, threatened the caste order no more than Buddhism and Jainism had, or Bhakti would.

These improvements in the social and religious position of Śūdras were registered in the *smṛti* sections of the *Śānti* and *Anuśāsana parvan*s and in the chapters on the duties of the *varṇa*s in the Purāṇas written in this period—the *Viṣṇu*, *Mārkaṇḍeya*, *Bhaviṣya*, *Bhāgavata*, and *Padma*. The Mahābhārata and Purāṇas promote the spiritual equality of the *varṇa*s: all people go to heaven by devotion to the Lord and compassion for all beings, but white out social inequality. The *smṛti*s of Yājñavalkya (100-300 CE), *Viṣṇu* (100-300 CE), *Nārada* (100-400), *Bṛhaspati* (300-500 CE) and *Kātyāyana* (400-600 CE), exhibit a more moderate attitude allowing some sacrifices and sacraments to Śūdras and are favorite authorities for Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa.[10] Śūdras were conceded the right of hearing the Itihāsas, epics, and Purāṇas and, Sharma believes, sometimes even the Vedas.[11] For all its traditionalism and absolutism, Dharmaśāstra, nevertheless, managed to resiliently absorb and domesticate the challenges to caste expressed in Vaiṣṇavism, as it had those of Buddhism, and will those of Bhakti.

During the early medieval period (600-1200 CE), trade contracts, cities decline, and village India comes into its own, giving its distinctive stamp to caste. The classical caste system takes form and works deeply into the fabric of Indian life. Śūdra *jāti*s proliferate and differentiate more sharply into *sat* and *asat*.[12] Medieval commentators grant

[8] A. Sharma, *Modern Hindu Thought*, 151.
[9] G. XII.4. "If a Śūdra intentionally listens to memorize the Veda, then his ears should be cut off; if he utters the Veda, then his tongue may be cut off; if he has mastered the Veda, his body should be hacked apart."
[10] For instance, the *Bṛhaspati Smṛti* allowed the sacraments of *karṇavedha*, *dāna*, and *cūḍākaraṇa*, restricted by Manu to the twice-born. Brh., *saṁskāra*, verse 101, 154a; Manu II.35.
[11] ŚP XII.328.49 declares that all four *varṇa*s should hear the Vedas: *śrāvye ca caturo varṇān*. Quoted in Sharma, *Śūdras*, 293.
[12] The *sat/asat* distinction is found in earlier *smṛti*s (Atri, *Laghuviṣṇu*, and Yājñavalkya, but becomes pronounced in the medieval period. Ghurye (1961), 90.

*saṁskāra*s to the *sat*.[13] Vaiśyas and Śūdras had assimilated socially, as Al-Biruni observed when he traveled to India in the eleventh century; Śūdras replaced Vaiśyas in agriculture and Vaiśya artisans and merchants are confined to certain locales or reduced to the level of Śūdras. In the north the Brāhmaṇa, Rajput, and Śūdra, and in the south, the Brāhmaṇa, *sat*-Śūdra and *asat*-Śūdra become the three main social strata.[14] Beneath them, the landless poor are converted into untouchables and the number of impure Śūdras and untouchable sub-castes (doing the most unclean jobs as menial laborers, scavengers, keepers of cremation grounds, and filth collectors) rises steeply.[15] Nevertheless, there was resistance to encroaching caste, as we see, for instance in the rebellion of the Kaivartas.[16]

The Kaivartas were tenant farmers in north Bengal, listed as an outcaste community fishermen and boatmen in the *Manusmṛti*, who revolted against the Pālas in the eleventh century and won recognition as a "clean" caste.[17] Similarly, the pastoral Jats of Sind fought Mahmud of Ghazni (998-1030 CE) and won Śūdra status in a prequel to the Sikhs.[18] Such vertical shifts in caste were always occurring, driven in these two instances by peasant uprisings, even in the depressed era of the early medieval and were only accentuated in periods of dynamic change and expansion like the Mughal.

Kosambi and Sharma are the best known exponents of the view that an Indian form of feudalism developed in the early medieval period between the North Indian empire of Harṣa (d. 648) and the founding of the Delhi Sultanate (1206). Others question the applicability of the term "feudal" to the unique social complex of regional monarchies, *sāmanta*s (princely tributaries), *brahmadeya*s (land grants) to pioneering Brahmins, and self-sufficient villages in India at this time.[19] Although subjected to serious critique, the feudal model is still adhered to in a modified form by some Indian historians who want to emphasize the congruencies with western political forms—caste does not make India a special case.[20]

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[13] Ghurye (1961), 90-92

[14] Jaiswal, *Caste*, 73.

[15] The depressed status of Śūdras in Gujarat can seen in the *Lekhapaddati*, a collection of fifty model letters and a mine of information about civic life. It mentions Śūdras only once in Letter IV, a royal charter of land to a *raṇaka* (a local feudatory), dated to 744-745 CE that lumps them in with rogues, thieves, and other calamities to be guarded against. Pushpa Prasad, *Lekhapaddhati*: *Documents of State and Everyday Life from Ancient and Early Medieval Gujarat*, *9th to 15th Centuries* (Oxford University Press, 2007), 64-65.

[16] R.S. Sharma, *Indian Feudalism, AD 300-1000*, 220, 228

[17] S.D. Banerji, *The Pālas of Bengal*, reprint (Varanasi, 1973), 44-51.

[18] Irfan Habib, "Jats of Punjab and Sind," *Essays in Honour of Dr. Ganda Singh, ed. H. Singh and N.G. Barrier* (Patiala, 1976), 94-95; and, *Medieval India: The Study of a Civilization* (New Delhi, 2008), 9.

[19] See, for instance, " Harbans Mukha, " Was There Feudalism in Indian History?" in *The State in India 1000-1700*, ed. by Hermann Kulke (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1995), 86-133.

[20] Still determinedly defended by Sharma himself in "How Feudal was Indian Feudalism?" also in *The State in India,* 48-85.

There are several other competing models of medieval state formation: the Asiatic mode of production, the unified imperial state, the segmentary of Burton Stein, the processural-integrative model of Hermann Kulke and the Weberian patrimonial-bureaucratic.[21] There is much debate about their relative merits for different formations as they vary over region and period, which I can only skim lightly over here. The indefinable and complex development of Indian states makes it difficult to generalize or specify the place of Śūdras in them.[22]

The Asiatic mode is now mostly regarded as an Orientalist projection along with Asiatic despotism. The Delhi Sultanate, Vijayanagara, and the Mughal states display features of both the military-feudal and patrimonial-bureaucratic models. Kulke's three-phase model seems best to describe the post-Gupta, agrarian Hindu kingdoms with their expansive, organic growth from small chiefdoms into kingdoms and empires, rather than the decentralizing, fragmenting feudal model.[23] It flexibly includes elements of the other models. And Brahmins perform an essential enculturating and integrative role in the hinduization and śūdrafication of the peasant.

Burton Stein's segmentary model of nuclear areas and concentric zones (core to periphery) naturally best fits the Tamil country on which it was based. In this model, the state arises from the network of communities: the *brahmadeya*, "Brahmin-controlled circles of villages," and the *nāḍu* or "*sat*-Śūdra controlled extended localities."

In many regions "Śūdras" became the socially dominant castes, e.g., the agro-warrior Vellalas in Tamil Nadu, the Reḍḍys in Andra Pradesh, the Jats in Uttar Pradesh and Punjab, the Patels in Gujarat, the Nayars of Malabar, and the Marathas in Mahārāṣṭra.[24] In Bengal and Orissa, Brahmins and Śūdras were the castes that mattered. Kāyastha scribes and bureaucrats in Bengal saw themselves as equal or second best to Brahmins.[25] These groups may have counted as Śūdras in the caste hierarchy and been described as such by Brahmins, but they exercised the social and

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[21] For a useful survey of these models, see Hermann Kulke, "Introduction: The Study of the State in Pre-Modern India," in *The State in India*, 1-47.

[22] Which leads Irfan Habib to propose a neutral label, "the Indian medieval economy," in "Economic History of the Delhi Sultanate," 298.

[23] See Kulke, "The Early and the Imperial Kingdom: A Processural Model of Integrative State Formation in Early Medieval India," in *The State in India*, 233-62; and Hermann Kulke and Dietmar Rothermund, *A History of India*, 4th ed. (Routledge, 2004), 128-140. Brajadulal Chattopadhyaya also to stresses processes of centralizing integration in " Political Processes and the Structure of Polity in Early Medieval India," *The State in India*, 195-232.

[24] Sharma believes that the milder views of Baudhāyana and Āpastamba on Śūdras may reflect their own southern origins or associations, *Śūdras in Ancient India*, 145.

[25] Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa does not address the subject of Kāyasthas in any detail, but simply quotes the *Jātiviveka,* which rates them as the lowest of Śūdra mixed castes with the five *saṃskāras* of Śrīvaiṣṇava *dikṣā*: *tāpa*, *puṇḍra*, *nama*, *mantra*, and *yāga*.

> The son that a Māhiṣya woman bears to a Vaideha man is called a Kāyastha.
> A Kāyastha should practice the occupations of writing the scripts of regional dialects, accounting, and calculation with algebra and arithmetic.
> He is the lowest of Śūdra *jāti*s and has the five rites of *tāpa*, *puṇḍra*, *nama*, *mantra*, and *yāga*. Service to the four *varṇa*s, clerical work, business, and craft are stipulated as his livelihoods. Kāyasthas and others of that class must not wear a *śikhā*, receive Vedic initiation, wear garments of saffron cloth, or have contact with the images of the gods. SAS 23

political power of Kṣatriyas, often claiming Kṣatriya origin. Moreover, they had their own internal class divisions as well. The Patels (Patidar, "village chief"), for instance, are today found from the top to the bottom of the social scale of Gujarati society, from landowners and wealthy business men, to professionals, village shopkeepers, and artisans.

Rich, landowning Vellalas and Reḍḍys separated themselves from the unclean Śūdras who worked their fields and served them. The Śūdra castes of the south were also divided horizontally by right-left hand (*idangai-velangai*) rivalries between peasants and artisans/traders/manufacturers.[26] The Telugu Reḍḍys and Kammas were superior to the menial Śūdra castes of Kummaris, Chikalis, Mangalis, and Salis. The Jats were proudly and militantly Śūdra. Vellalas, Reḍḍys, Khatri traders in Punjab, and Maratha clan leaders contested the Brahmin designation of Śūdra. Exercising the power of Kṣatriyas, they claimed a lost Kṣatriya status.

As some epigraphs show, birth in high-ranking Śūdra castes were not everywhere considered a liability or degrading. Some Śūdra rulers were zealous patrons of the institutions of *varṇa-āśrama-dharma* and Brahmins, however much these things were warned against in Kaliyuga sections of the Purāṇas. Śūdra rulers, in a remarkable turnabout of the usual denigration and prejudice attached to the Śūdra created from the feet of Puruṣa, instead expressed pride in being born from the feet of Viṣṇu and assumed Brahmanical *gotra*s.[27]

Some enterprising Śūdras were never much impeded by formal disqualifications from performing sacrifices, or even receiving initiation, acquiring education, and gaining political power as kings and ministers to the scandal of Brahmins.[28] Far from being an anomaly, rule by "Śūdra" kings was, in many parts of the subcontinent, the usual state of affairs. Every known royal family from the time of Mahapadma Nanda in the fourth century B.C. belonged to non-Kṣatriya castes. The Mauryas were Śūdra. The Guptas claimed to be Vaiśyas. The Palas were Śūdras. The Marathas claimed to be Rajputs, but their Rajput genealogy was a Brahmin invention. In practice, the distinction between Śūdras, Vaiśyas, and Kṣatriyas was often nominal or irrelevant.[29]

Caste was never uniform over the subcontinent. It takes diverse regional forms. The uniformity is only in the Dharmaśāstras. A big factor, as Thapar stresses, in determining its form was whether landowning or commercial

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[26] Burton Stein, *Peasant, State, and Society in Medieval South India* (Delhi, 1980). 173-215. Stein replies to criticisms of the segmentary model in "The Segmentary State: Interim Reflections," in *The State in India*, 134-161. See also pp. 18-31 for Kulke's discussion.

[27] For instance, in the inscriptions of Reḍḍy kings. See *Epigraphica Indica*, VII, No. 311.2-3, cited in Jaiswal, *Caste*, 120n223, and H.S. Kotiyal, "Śūdra Rulers and Officials in Early Medieval Times," *PIHC*, 34th Session (Chandigarh, 1973): 80-7.

[28] In Manu, all foreign (*mleccha*) rulers are Śūdras produced by *varṇasaṅkara*. In the Purāṇas, we hear of Śūdra rulers in many regions and polities: Avanti, Saurashtra, Arbuda, Malwa, Sindhu, and Kashmir, albeit as evils of the Kaliyuga. See F. E. Pargiter, *The Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*, *Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series* 19 (Varanasi, 1962): 2, 8, 23, 25, 54-5, 65. 69, 74.

[29] G. Krishnan-Kutty, *Peasant in India* (Delhi: Abhinav Publications, 1986): 9-10 citing Panikkar, *Hindu Society at Crossroads*, 31-33.

classes were dominant. Wealth was often far more important than caste ranking in social position.[30] As a rule, there was more social mobility at the top than at the bottom. In actuality, only the poles of Brahmin and untouchable had any broadly recognized uniformity, the intermediary castes were immensely varied. Dharmaśāstra provided the hegemonic language in which to conceive and speak of social identity. What did Punjabi Jats, Maratha chiefs, or Tamil Vellalas care, if Brahmin paṇḍits regarded them as Śūdras?

Phases of growing trade, urbanization, incursions of Western and Central Asian peoples, and the rise of new religious movements periodically created the conditions for Śūdra mobility and threw up challenges to the orthodoxies of Dharmaśāstra. Indeed, the orthodoxies are a reaction to the challenges. Thapar notes the reactionary impact on Brahmanical thinking.

> There seems to be a counterpoint between the rigidity of social class within normative texts, and the greater flexibility in the functioning of society. The earlier *Dharmasutras* were written when urbanization in the Ganges Plain was upsetting the mores of the *Vedas*, and the 'heterodox' sects were questioning brahmanical norms. The Manu *Dharmashastra*, perhaps the most conservative of these texts, dates to the period of the rule of the '*degenerate kshatriyas'* with the opening up of the subcontinent to trade and new ideas. The post-Gupta period saw the rapid emergence of new *jatis*, cults and states, challenging set ideas, which again produced a crop of normative texts and commentaries.[31]

Periods of urbanization and expanding trade and commerce improved the conditions of Śūdras' lives, destabilized caste structures, and opened opportunities for vertical mobility. With increased employment and wealth, artisans from Śūdra castes could aim at moving up socially. This was true of the Mauryan, Kushan, and Gupta periods. By the Sultanate and Mughal times, India was undergoing a new cycle of urbanization and globalizing trade and high Śūdra castes were again flourishing.

The Title of the SAS and *Sat*-Śūdras

Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa proudly called his work a *śiromaṇi*, a "crown-jewel", a "jewel worn on the head," and metaphorically the topmost of anything. It is a title conferred on eminent paṇḍits like Raghunātha Śiromaṇi and the chief work in a field, e.g., the *Siddhānta Śiromaṇi*, an astronomical work by Bhāskara. Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa was claiming, therefore that his text on Śūdras was the best of its kind. Such grand titles were a literary convention and advertisement. It indicates that he wrote it as a concise, lapidary, and self-contained text, a brilliant little gem of a work, concentrated on the one subject of *śūdradharma*, and an independent work, not merely a section of the *Govindārṇava*. The *śiromaṇi* title is rare among Dharmaśāstras and is more often encountered in other śāstras, e.g., Jyotiṣa or Nyāya. The SAS is the

[30] *Early India*, xxvii.
[31] Thapar, *Early India*, 261.

only *śiromaṇi* text on Śūdras of which we know. There are a few other texts with similarly bejeweled titles in the *cintāmaṇi* and *kaustubha* genres, the *Śūdrācāracintāmaṇi* of Vācaspatimiśra (*fl.* 1450-1480) and the *Smṛtikaustubha* of Anantadeva (c. 1675). *Paddhati*, *prayoga*, and *tattva* titles are more common.

While the editors entitled the work the *Śūdrācāraśiromaṇi*, Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa's own preferred title appears to have been *Satśūdrācāraśiromaṇi*, "The Gemstone of Good Śūdra Conduct."[32] The difference is small, but significant, for the distinction between *sat*- and *asat*-Śūdras plays a key role in his arguments for when and to what degree certain ritual rights can be extended to Śūdras. In a dharma-based social order, ritual privileges *are* social privileges as well as the markers of status.

To recap, in the south and east, the social system consisted of three strata: Brāhmaṇas, *sat*-Śūdras and *asat*-Śūdras.[33] In the north, too, a class divide between *sat*- and *asat*-Śūdras became more marked. This divide goes back to Gupta times, but intensified in the medieval centuries as Śūdra castes proliferated and stratified.[34] Śūdras were no longer simply servants and laborers as they were in the Dharmasūtras. Upwardly mobile Śūdras pursuing independent and respectable livelihoods as tradesmen, artisans, or professionals of various kinds rose above the great masses of hired laborers, menials, servants, agricultural hands, and the poor making a living in low and demeaned ways. Urbanized Śūdras attached to courts and temples, businessmen, religious leaders, land-owing peasants, artisans, and traders became pure or *sat*–Śūdras. Poor Śūdras in the position of servile labor became *asat* or impure Śūdras.[35]

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[32] Judging from the fact that he repeats it three times (on page 32 at the end of the first section, on 78, and on 221 at the end) to one time for the shorter title.

[33] Suvira Jaiswal, *Caste,* 73.

[34] Sharma, *Śūdras in Ancient India*, 299, 319, 323; R.S. Sharma, *Social Life in Northern India in reference to Bihar cir. A.D. 1000-1300* (Patna, 2001); G.S. Ghurye, *Caste and Race in India*, 5th ed. (Bombay: 1969), 91, 102. With de-urbanization and feudalization, the medieval village became the self-subsistent center of Indian life. Śūdra and untouchable castes found their place in its division of labor. The medieval period saw a great expansion of untouchable strata with the influx of Ādivāsīs as agricultural laborers into the village economy. The ideology of purity and pollution spread as the regulator of caste relations. In ancient India, sub-Śūdra *antyaja*s like the Caṇḍālas had been a small percentage of the population. See Gen'ichi Yamazaki, "Social Discrimination in Ancient India and its Transition to the Medieval Period," in *Caste System, Untouchability and the Depressed*, *Japanese Studies on South Asia* No. 1, ed. by H. Kotani (New Delhi: Manohar Publishers, 1997), 10-17.

[35] We see the *sat*/*asat* division emerging in late Purāṇas. For instance, the *Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa* (Brahma khaṇḍa 10. 16-137) contains a long passage on *varṇasaṅkara* in which eight castes are distinguished as *sat*-Śūdras: the *gopa* (cowherd, farmer, writer), *kūbera*, *nāpita* (barber), *bhilla* (tribal), *modaka* (confectioner), *tāmbūlin* (betel dealer), *vaṇik* (merchant), and *svarṇakāra* (goldsmith). The *karaṇa* (scribe), *ambaṣṭha* (doctor, pharmacist), and *vaidya* (versed in *mantra* and *auṣadhi*, i.e., village ritual and folk medicine) are described as of Brahmin-Śūdra birth. These castes are not straightforwardly classified as *sat* by craft in the SAS, where good conduct is the determining factor.

The *Brahmavaivarta* was composed in its present form in the fifteenth or sixteenth century, probably in Bengal. It mentions a large number of mixed castes not attested in other accounts of *varṇasaṅkara* that seem to reflect contemporary Bengali society. There is also a most interesting alternative creation myth for Śūdra craft castes (19-90) that honors some Śūdra castes and shows Brahmin hostility to others, intimating perhaps Brahmin-Śūdra social competition. The "divine craftman" (*surakāru*), Viśvakarman, born as a Brahmin craftsman, planted the seed of knowledge in the Śūdrī/*apsaras* Ghṛtācī and begat nine types of *śilpakārin*s. Six are described as *śilpināṃ varāḥ*, the very best of all craftsman: the coppersmith, blacksmith, potter, weaver, gardener, and shell-worker. Three are cursed as *patita* and *ayājya*, i.e., fallen and without sacrifices: the painter, carpenter, and curiously, the goldsmith again. The eminent *śāstrī*s of the Bengal School—Bhavadeva, Aniruddha, Ballālasena, Halāyudha, and

The distinction, therefore, reflects a class divide that was further complicated by the conflation of Kṣatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra castes in Sultanate and Mughal times. The social distinction between Vaiśya and Śūdra had largely disappeared and, in Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa's day, even the existence of the Kṣatriya *varṇa* was in doubt in some shastric circles, reflecting the very real decline of Kṣatriya power under Muslim rule. In 16th century Bengal, new professional castes—Kāyasthas (civil servants) and Vaidyas (physicians and teachers)—were classed as *sat*-Śūdras and vied with Brahmins for social position or even claimed to be Brahmins.[36] Faced with such high caste Śūdras, Brahmins found it necessary to make adjustments in the Dharmashastric view. This can be seen already in pre-SAS works, such as the Maithila school *Gṛhastharatnākara* of Caṇḍeśvara (1310-1360), which relax the strict rules that forbid dealing in impure commodities by Śūdras engaged in trade in default of service, depending on their *sat-asat* status.[37]

The artisans of Vijayanagara illustrate the new significance of the *sat*/*asat* Śūdra division.[38] After the reign of Kṛṣṇadeva Raya (1509-29), the kingdom slid down to defeat by the coalition of Deccani Sultans at Talikot in 1565 and lingered on into the 1600's, but was representative of what was happening socially throughout the south.[39]

> From the fifteenth century onwards, medieval South Indian society presented a picture of a social order in ferment. Far from accepting the theoretical notion of 'my station and its duties' [as endlessly preached in Dharmaśāstra], the Śūdra artisan castes, who described themselves as Sat-Śūdras, sought to propel themselves into higher echelons of society which commanded ritual superiority. When these artisanal and mercantile groups tried to crowd into the limited space offered by ritual and social privileges, the resultant pulls and pressures were reflected in contemporary medieval society.[40]

Goldsmiths, silversmiths, money-changers, weavers, cloth-makers, metal-workers, oil-pressers, masons, and carpenters were lifted up economically by the urbanization and burgeoning commerce of the temple towns of the south. Prospering *sat*-Śūdra artisans rose above tanners, potters, and others stuck in low statuses in the agrarian subsistence economy. Craftsmen and merchants organized into corporations and guilds (*samaya*s) and sought ritual privileges and honors in community religious rites consonant with their social advantages. These were often no more than the right to hold the banners or blow the conch shell in a ceremony, or more consequentially, the right to silently (*tūṣnīm*

Raghunandana—exerted themselves to tailor the law to fit the peculiarities of Bengali caste and custom. Rocher, *Purāṇas*, 163; and "Mixed Castes in the Brahmavaivartapurāṇa." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 106, No. 2 (April-June, 1986): 253-55.

36 Dutt, *Origin and Growth of Caste*, 73-74. The ambiguous caste position of Kāyasthas between Śūdra and Brahmin in Brāhmaṇa law and Raghunandana and others' solution of categorizing them as *sat*-Śūdras epitomize many of the issues around upper caste Śūdras in the 16th century that texts like the SAS were addressing. R.S. Sharma, *Early Medieval Indian Society: A Study in Feudalization*, 194-97. See also Citrarekha Gupta, *Kāyasthas: A Study in the Formation and Early History of a Caste* (Calcutta: Bagchi & Co., 1996) and B.P. Sinha, *Kayasthas in the Making of Modern Bihar* (Patna: Impression Publications, 2003), 19-29.

37 *Gṛhastharatnākara*, ed. by M.M. Kamalakrishna Smrtitirtha (Asiatic Society, 1928), 479-80.

38 Vijaya Ramaswami, "Artisans in Vijayanagar Society," *Indian Economic and Social History Review* XXII, no. 4 (1985): 417-444.

39 Burton Stein, *Vijayanagara*, *New Cambridge History of India I.2* (Cambridge University Press, 1989).

40 Ramaswami, 417.

eva iti) perform *vaidika* rites. Participation in the *bhakti* movements was an expression of these aspirations for caste exaltation. *Sat*-Śūdras and many poor Śūdras in large numbers became Vīraśaivas, Liṅgāyats, and Śrī Vaiṣṇavas. Some claimed Brahmanical origins and status and wore the sacred thread. While seeking to overcome ritual disqualification and raise themselves to the level of Brahmins, they enforced their own privileges and ceremonial purity in relation to *asat*-Śūdras.

A similar dynamic was occurring in the north as well. Irfan Habib discusses the participation of artisans and low castes in the *bhakti* movements in Northern India.[41] The establishment of the Delhi Sultanate stimulated urbanization and social change with the introduction of new technologies and increased demand for crafts and services. The disparities between economic and ritual status were given expression by the *bhakti* saints—Kabīr, Dādū, and Guru Nānak, and others. The resulting social tensions and struggles motivated Brāhmin intellectuals to adjust the traditional theoretical framework of the Dharmaśāstras to better suit the power and prestige of artisan castes in the economy of the times.

Asat-Śūdras shade down into the *antyaja*s (subcastes) and *aspṛśya*s (untouchables) with whom contact was unclean. In the Brahmanical view, by failing in obedient service to the upper castes and abandoning *svadharma*, *sat*-Śūdras would fall among the *asat*-Śūdras and *antyaja*s. The danger of falling into the untouchability of the subcastes bound Śūdras, despite shastric disqualification, to the upper *varṇa*s in oppressing those below them. In addition, the hope of rising to *sat*-Śūdras status could be held out to untouchables, if they lifted themselves up by their karmic bootstraps.[42]

The division between *sat*- and a*sat*-Śūdras co-developed with untouchability and ideas of purity and pollution.[43] As the subcontinent was colonized, forest peoples, hunter-gatherers and other marginal groups at lower levels of culture were drawn into the caste system as the untouchable *jāti*s. Animal-killing and -eating peoples could be looked down upon as unclean, even by respectable *sat*–Śūdras. According to Irfan Habib, the medieval proletariat was largely created out of these hunter-gatherers sucked into the bottom of the caste system.[44] The formation of Śūdra caste peasantries in the medieval village rested on this division between land-owing peasants and landless laborers. Brahmanical doctrines of *varṇasaṅkara* and ritual impurity regulated and sanctioned these social arrange-

[41] Irfan Habib, "Economic History of the Delhi Sultanate: An Essay in Interpretation, *IHR*, IV, no. 2 (January, 1978) 287-303.
[42] Dutt, *Origin and Growth of Caste in India*, 148.
[43] Ghurye (1969): 97-98; Sangeet Kumar, *Changing Role of the Caste System*, 147-152; Vasudev Upadhyay, *Socio-Religious Condition of North India (700-1200 A.D.)* (Varanasi, 1964), 92; R.S. Sharma, *Social Changes in Early Medieval India* (New Delhi: People's Publishing House, 1983), 24-25.
[44] Irfan Habib, *Essays in Indian History: Toward a Marxist Perception*; and "The Economic History of India: A Survey" (London: Anthem Press, 2002), 124-126.131, 166, 179, 245.

ments. In post-12th century law digests, the superior status of *sat*-Śūdras was recognized and their ritual privileges confirmed. The SAS epitomizes this development.

Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa's list of mixed *jāti*s, in addition to those originating as hereditary crafts, includes many tribal peoples: Ābhīras, Ugras, Andhras, Ambaṣṭhas, Kārāvaras, Kīnāśas, Caṇḍālas, Ḍombas, Dhigvanas, Niṣādas, Pukkasas, Pulindas, Bandhulas, Buruḍas, Bhilla, Medas, Veṇas, and Sairandhras. Such lists of mixed *jāti*s were becoming more and more abstract and anachronistic by the sixteenth century, but they were preserved in the amber of Manu and other Dharmaśāstras and respectfully reproduced in the *nibandha*s.

There is much confusion in Sanskrit texts, including the SAS, between Śūdras, untouchables (Dalits), and Ādivāsīs, partly due to the constantly mutating, regionally variable, and polyvalent nature of caste. Ambivalence in the caste status of people designated as *sat*-Śūdras, *asat*-Śūdras, *antyaja*s, *Ati*-Śūdras, and *aspṛśya*s was functional. It moved people into and through the caste system and positioned them within its structures, simultaneously offering material and religious benefits with the possibility of upward mobility while enabling and legitimating exploitation. Kotani provides a study of how this ambivalence worked in the case of untouchable *Ati*-Śūdra castes in the medieval Deccan and was religiously expressed.[45]

Here too, the *Ati*-Śūdras were partly composed of pre-Aryan Ādivāsīs (Mahars, Mangs, Chambars) and other indigenous hillmen, who were recruited by the Marathas as mountain troops and fort guards. Other *Ati*-Śūdras were engaged in unclean occupation such as skinners, bamboo workers, and shoemakers. They were associated with the earth and animism. As sons of the soil (*bhūmiputra*), they were seen as special devotees of the local *devī* and associated with her rites such as *śānti*, in which animal sacrifices were offered to her during festivals and in crises such as outbreaks of cholera and smallpox. *Ati*-Śūdras were also enthusiastic participants as *vārkarī*s in the Bhakti cult of Viṭṭhala, one of whose saints, the Mahar Chokhamela, had a shrine at Pandharpur.

Ati-Śūdras were discriminated against in many ways in daily life, but at the same time were the headmen of villages, mountain soldiers, and town policemen. They played an important ritual role in boundary disputes and the ceremonies of *devī*. There was much intra-caste struggle among *Ati*-Śūdras themselves over relative social ranking and associated rights and duties.

[45] Hiroyuki Kotani, "Ati Śūdra Castes in the Medieval Deccan," in *Caste System, Untouchability and the Depressed*, *Japanese Studies on South Asia* No. 1, ed. by H. Kotani (New Delhi: Manohar Publishers, 1997), 55-75.

For Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa, the distinction between *sat*- and *asat*-Śūdra is determinative.[46] It is the principle that reconciles the many contradictions in the *smṛti*s regarding which sacrifices, *saṁskāra*s, and devotional practices Śūdras are entitled to and how they are to be performed. The degree of impurity a Śūdra may have in matters of food and contact also depends on his *sat* or *asat* status. The rules for *sat*-Śūdras are adjustable; the full rigor applies to *asat*-Śūdras. Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa is in line with other commentators on this point. Gadādhara (16th century) prescribes twelve *saṁskāra*s for pure Śūdras and only one, marriage, for the impure.[47] The *Nirṇayasindhu* says something similar: conflicting views are adjusted by holding that the liberal ones apply to good (*sat*) Śūdras and the stricter ones to low (*asat*) Śūdras or that the rules are different in different countries.[48]

Recognition that customs varied from country to country could be used to accommodate the diversity of actual practice while preserving the integrity of Dharma. Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa points out the variations in *aśauca* (death impurity), *sapiṇḍakaraṇa*, and Śūdra recitation of Purāṅic mantras prevailing in Madhyadeśa[49] and Gauḍa[50] and stresses the importance of following the customs of one's own country.[51]

A Śārṅgadhara prescribed sixteen *saṁskāra*s for the twice-born, twelve for Śūdras, and five for mixed castes (*miśrajāti*s).[52] It is unclear if he is distinguishing between *sat*- and *asat*-Śūdras, or by mixed castes means untouchables. In actuality, *asat*-Śūdras and untouchables were effectively lumped together as the pool of lowest caste laborers. The pitting of Śūdras against untouchables with differentials in their socio-ritual status was a mechanism for maintaining the system of labor exploitation. Untouchables were variously regarded as the lowest Śūdras, a fifth *varṇa*,[53] or casteless altogether (*bāhya*). The situation again is different in the south and east where *asat*-Śūdras were the culturally backward and untouchable tribal peoples who labored for the landowning *sat*-Śūdra peasantry.

There were other categories of uncleanness applied to low-caste *jāti*s. In the north, Patañjali (*Mahābhāṣya* II.4.10) divided Śūdras into the *aniravasita*, i.e., those in gainful but dirty occupations such as carpenters and blacksmith, and the *niravasita*, those so low and unclean, such as Caṇḍālas, that their vessels had to be "thrown away" and not

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[46] The *sat*/*asat* distinction was already made by Yājñavalkya (1.95), where it is equivalent to *anuloma*/*pratiloma.* Viśveśvarabhaṭṭa (14th cen.) still uses it this way in the *Smṛtikaumudī*. Yājñavalkya (3.22) also speaks of Śūdras who are "living by the rules" (*nyāyavartinaḥ*), as does Manu (5.140). KS takes this to mean *sat*-Śūdras. By the 16th century, Raghunandana is describing Kāyasthas and Ambaṣṭhas as *sat*-Śūdras in his *Śuddhitattva*—a significantly different use of the term.
[47] Sharma, *Śūdras in Ancient India*, 299.
[48] Kane, II, pt. 1, 199.
[49] SAS 50, 212.
[50] SAS 122, 212.
[51] SAS 51.
[52] Sharma, *Śūdras in Ancient India*, 299.
[53] Manu (10.4) said there was no *pañcama varṇa*, but the term came into currency for all those outside the four *varṇa*s: untouchables and tribals, the predecessors of the Scheduled Castes (Dalits) and Tribes (Ādivāsīs) of today.

used by any other caste for eating. There was also a distinction made between *bhojyānna* and *abhojyānna*. The first, according to Yājñavalkya (1.166) included servants, cowherds, barbers, and friends, i.e., those with whom one had close personal contact. The second were all other Śūdras whose food a Brahmin could not take.[54] Brahmin rules of purity spread throughout Indian society as the hegemonic language for speaking about the lower castes.

The main condition allowing rules for participation in ritual and purity to be relaxed for *sat*-Śūdras is that they be good people, meaning well-conducted householders in good standing in their communities obediently serving the twice-born, their chief duty, and faithfully keeping to the *svadharma* of their caste. The test of *sat*-Śūdrahood, therefore, was following the baseline duty of obedient service to *dvija*s. In everyday life, *sat*-Śūdras would have been those who followed respectable occupations and trades and the religious leadership of Brahmins.

Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa cites as his *smārta* authorities Parāśara, Manu and the *Mahābhārata*.[55]

> The highest dharma for a Śūdra is to serve the twice-born.
> Anything else he does is fruitless,
> since service to them is the cause of attaining the supreme good. PS 1.70

> For the Śūdra, the highest dharma leading to happiness is simply to render
> obedient service to reputable Brahmin householders who are learned in the Veda.
> M 9.334

> Harmless, virtuous, worshipping gods and Brahmins,
> a Śūdra is honored for following his own dharma
> and garnering its approved fruits. MB 13. App. 15. 524-525

He quotes the *Kūrma Purāṇa* on the fruit of each one following his own dharma.

> The place of Prajāpati is assigned to the Brahmins, who practice the rites,
> the place of Indra to the Kṣatriyas, who do not run away from battle,
> the place of the Maruts to the Vaiśyas, who follow the duties prescribed for them,
> and the place of the Gandharvas to the Śūdras, who follow the path of service.
> KP 1.2.66-67

Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa makes exceptions for *sat*-Śūdras on a number of topics such as *ācamana* (sipping water), *cūḍākaraṇa* (tonsure), *śrāddha* (offerings to the dead), and *aśauca* (birth and death pollution). He follows other authorities in allowing Śūdras who are dutifully serving the twice-born and performing the five great sacrifices, to follow rites of Vaiśyas, which, indeed, was often their real social status.[56] He interprets Manu's "Śūdras living by the rules" (*nyāyavartinām*) to mean *sat*-Śūdras.[57]

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[54] Kane, II. pt. 1, 92,121-2.
[55] SAS 33.
[56] SAS 38, 90.
[57] Manu 5.140.

Śūdras living by the rules should shave their head once a month,
follow the rules of purification laid down for Vaiśyas,
and eat the leftover food of the twice-born. M 5.140

And, likewise, Yājñavalkya on the period of impurity:

For Kṣatriya twelve days, for Vaiśyas fifteen,
for Śūdras thirty days, and half that for Śūdras living by the rules (*nyāyavartinaḥ*) Y 3.22

Regarding *ācamana*, Gautama says that Śūdras should sip three or four times, but Yogi Yājñavalkya once. Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa resolves the contradiction by taking three or four times as applying to *asat*-Śūdras and once to *sat*-Śūdras. Alternatively, we might prefer to follow Manu who lays down that *sat*-Śūdras should follow the Vaiśya rite and sip once.[58]

As for wearing a *śikhā*, the *Skanda Purāṇa* may forbid it, but following Vasiṣṭha, Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa allows it to a s*at*-Śūdra and forbids it to a "degraded" *Śūdra*.[59]

Again, on the subject of birth and death impurity, the *Brahma Purāṇa* says that a Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya, or Vaiśya woman who has delivered a child is touchable after ten days have gone by, but a Śūdra woman only after thirteen. Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa says this applies to *asat*-Śūdra women, accepting the opinion of other authorities that a *sat*-Śūdra woman is purified in ten days.[60]

Devala (10.114.36) and the *Mārkanḍeya Purāṇa* (32.41) say that a Śūdra is purified in a month.[61] Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa says this applies to the *asat*-Śūdra and sets the period of impurity for a *sat*-Śūdra dutifully serving the twice-born, eating their food, and cutting his hair monthly, at half that, i.e., fifteen days

Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa fastidiously insists that Śātātapa's view that a Śūdra is purified in twenty days on a death or birth should be taken as referring to a *sat*-Śūdra who has been slightly degraded and now must now purify himself for twenty days rather than fifteen. [62] His dereliction is a matter of neglecting service to the *dvija*s (i.e., Brahmins), not observances such as the performance of the five great sacrifices. He cites the authority of Aṅgiras in construing this as applying to a "*sat*-Śūdra possessed of dispassion and the all the virtues of an absolutely good Śūdra."

Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa then goes on to discuss the factors that may qualify the period of purity, giving us in the process a picture of his methods of argument and demonstrating how conditionally elastic Dharmashastric rules were in practice.

[58] SAS 90.
[59] SAS 37.
[60] SAS 194.
[61] SAS 190.
[62] Ibid.

> Some view the alternative of twenty days as applying to an ordinary Śūdra in a state of misfortune and ten days to a *sat*-Śūdra. Others see it as a matter of local custom. And there is the confusion of impurity due to the caste mingling that occurs in a different age. This is discussed in the *Āditya Purāṇa* in the passages quoted by Hemādri about the contraction of impurity depending on the degree of Vedic learning mastered and the dharmas the wise say must be avoided in the Kaliyuga.
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> SAS 190

Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa accepts the view of the *Varāha Purāṇa* that *sat*-Śūdras are permitted to perform *śrāddha* with cooked offerings, although other *smṛti*s he quotes specify uncooked grain as appropriate and cooked offerings as *kalivarjya*, i.e., something to be avoided in the Kaliyuga as detestable and fitting only in another, better age.[63] Determining what was or was not *kalivarjya* or appropriate to a bygone age (*yugāntara*) is a frequently used resort for dealing with conflicting opinions on permissible conduct for Śūdras.[64]

The *Nāradīya Purāṇa* prohibits Śūdras and women touching *liṅgas,* chanting prayers and mantras, performing austerities, going on pilgrimage to holy places, and worshipping the gods.[65] Kāyasthas and such people are to abstain from the *śikhā*, investiture, wearing saffron clothing, and touching the images of the divinities, i.e., acting as though they were *dvija*s and not the mixed caste Śūdras they were in the eyes of Brahmin *dharmaśāstrī*s who resented their competition as a literate professional class. Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa's comment is typical of his approach:

> Inconsistency is to be avoided in so far as it is a matter, in the manner previously discussed, of the compatibility or incompatibility of things of this kind with service to the twice-born on the part of *sat*- and *asat*-Śūdras. The marks of *sat*-Śūdras are said to be shaving the hair each month, consuming the surplus food of the twice-born, making a living by service to them, and performing the five great sacrifices. These should be regarded as the dharmic duties of good Śūdras only—the others have those common to everyone, such as non-harm to living creatures.

Observance by *sat*-Śūdras, women, and Kāyasthas is contingent on the extent to which their practice is compatible with submission to the twice-born (Brahmins). In other words, the *adhikāra* for any particular ritual was a conditional privilege dependent on Brahmin assent.

Śūdradharma Texts and the Invention of Hinduism

If the transformation of clan, tribe, and "backward" life-ways into caste was the formative process of Hindu society as more and more peoples across the subcontinent were drawn into the caste system as Śūdra peasants and artisans and landless laborers (*antyajas*), Sanskritization was the discursive image of this process as theorized and formalized by the Brahmin intellectual class. Sanskritization or Brahmanization had been going on for two millennia

[63] SAS 217-218.
[64] Kane, HD, III, 885*f.*
[65] SAS 77.

before the British arrived on the scene and was itself a colonization of the hearts and minds of the people of the subcontinent as they were incorporated into the caste order. The result of this process was the emergence of modern Hinduism. It was ratcheted up to a new level during the Sultanate period. It is no coincidence that this is the period in which the *dharmanibandha* appears.[66]

Kane divided the history of Dharmaśāstra into three periods: prose *sūtra* and versified *smṛti* followed by the age of the commentators and digests from the seventh to eighteenth century. The first half of the latter was the golden era of the commentary. The general tendency after 1200 was the digest. *Nibandha*s are encyclopedic syntheses of the whole tradition of *dharmasmṛti* production. They testify to a need to conserve and protect the Dharma in a time of danger. They are monuments of tradition. Hindu kings sponsored and subsidized production of them as ornaments of their reign and as external defense and internal reinforcement of *varṇāśramadharma*. Pollock seems essentially right to connect the rise of the *nibandha* to the need of the times. Their totalizing character was an ideological counter-offensive against the threat of Islam, an alien and inassimilable politico-religious formation unlike the earlier Śakas, Kushanas, and Hunas or the absorbed dissidence of Buddhism.[67] Dharma faced in the Yavana *rākṣasa*s, the Afghan Turks, an unprecedented challenge.

Not surprisingly, bringing the productive classes of the population into line with Dharma also became a crucial concern of the state. The village caste order that had emerged and stabilized during 600-1100 CE in the agrarian kingdoms under conditions of de-urbanization was now theoretically consolidated in these voluminous court-sponsored lawbooks. They were a plan for the entrenchment of caste dharma, not a demographic description. Given the short reach and limited power of courts, this was more of an organic process than a matter of deliberate policy. This is the period of the "spate" of texts about Śūdras referred to in the introduction, because the subject was both of renewed concern and manuscript production increased with the royal patronage of the regional kingdoms.

The production of digests can almost be sequentially charted before the advancing wave of conquests to the east and south by Muhammad of Ghur, Bakhtiyar Khalji, and the Delhi Sultans. Lakṣmīdhara wrote the *Kṛtyakalpataru* (ca. 1125-1150) as chief minister for Govindacandra of the Gāhaḍavāla dynasty, which fell in 1193 with the capture of Kanauj and Vārāṇasī. In one of his inscriptions, Govinda was described as Hari himself born into the world to protect Vārāṇasī from the wicked Turks.[68] The *Dānasāgara*, *Ācārasāgara* (1168) and other digests were compila-

[66] "Deep Orientalism?," 98-9.
[67] 105-6.
[68] *Epigraphia Indica* 9: 324, quoted by Pollock, "Deep Orientalism?" p. 106.

tions by the Senas (1179-1205), the Brahmanizing kings of Bengal who are reputed to have reorganized the caste system introducing the hypergamous caste rules of *kulinism* among the Brahmins, Vaidyas, and Kāyasthas of Bengal.[69] Bengal was overrun in 1202. Hemādri composed the *Caturvargacintāmaṇi* (c. 1260-1270) as keeper of the imperial records for the Yādavas of Devagiri, which fell to Ala-ud-din in 1305. Caṇḍeśvara produced the *Smṛtiratnākara* as "minister for peace and war"[70] and chief justice for the kings of Mithilā, routed by the *mlecchas* in 1324. Mādhava complied the *Parāśara-mādhavīya* in c. 1335-1360 as scholar-statesman and bulwark of the kingdom of Vijayanagara, which carried on a long struggle with the Deccan Sultanates. All of these kingdoms were engaged in fighting the *turuṣkas* and were eventually overrun. A magisterial corpus of dharma were one of means of moral and cultural unity in that fight and may have contributed to the stubborn resistance that made the Muslim conquest of India a relatively long, slow slog.[71]

Lakṣmīdhara's *Kṛtryakalpataru* (ca. 1125) is the first of the great *nibandha*s still extant and inaugurated a new phase in defining the place of the Śūdra.[72] It is a vast digest in fourteen volumes commissioned by Govindacandra, whom, as we saw, T. H. Colebrooke confused with the patron of Śeṣa Nṛsiṁha. It repays a closer look.

In chapter II.16, Lakṣmīdhara deals with the ritual activity and livelihood of the Śūdra. He begins by confirming through authoritative citations, as do all *śūdradharma* texts, that the dharma of a Śūdra is obedient service to the twice-born. In that lies his salvation, too. His ritual life is simple. He should use the *namaskāra* mantra. He keeps the "five fires" of the *pañcamahāyajñas*. He may make gifts of charity (*dāna*). He must offer *śrāddha* to ancestors. He is permitted to make a living by all trades, arts and crafts. The rules in the *Kālikā Purāṇa* against selling honey, liquor, hides, lac, and meat are waived. Brahmins may accept from him articles of food: salt, honey, wine, curds, butter-milk, and clarified butter. He should listen daily to the Purāṇas in lieu of the Vedic study enjoined for the twice-born.

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[69] Vincent Smith, *The Early History of India From 600 B.C. to the Muhammadan Conquest*, 4th ed., Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957), 419.
[70] Kane's title.
[71] Most of these facts and dates are from Kane, HDS I.
[72] *Gṛhastakāṇḍa*, Book 2 of the *Kṛtyakalpataru* of Bhaṭṭa Lakṣmīdhara, ed. by K.V. Rangaswami Aiyangar, *Gaekwad Oriental Series* no. 101 (Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1944). In his introduction to the *Dānakāṇḍa*, Bk. 5, pp. 1-130, Aiyangar provides much useful information about the evolution of the *nibandha*, Govindacandra's battles with Muslims and rival Hindu kings, and Lakṣmīdhara's predecessors and influence. Kings, whose grasp on power was recent or weak or kṣatriyahood disputed, were spurred to take up the conservation of dharma and zealously promote digests as a component of policies of "Hindu" religious and social revivalism. Like the later kings of Vijayanagara, the Gāhaḍavālas were engaged in a campaign of cultural rearmament.

The topic of this book, *dāna*, was of material consequence, in Aiyangar's view, because of the rise of non-Kṣatriya dynasties and the increasing wealth of "devout Śūdras to whom the way of *yāga* was not open." *Dāna* is about the ritual regulation of surplus wealth and its channeling into subsidy of Brahmins and public benefactions such as *pūrtas*. The strict older rules on the eligibility of non-Brahmins as donors and donees were recalibrated with a stress on the virtue of charitable giving as a grace open to all. As we will see in the chapter on "Śūdras and the Vedas," *dāna* was expected of Śūdras as a religious duty already in the *Śāntiparvan*. K.V. Rangaswami Aiyangar, *Dānakāṇḍa*, *Kṛtyakalpataru* 5 (Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1941):1-130.

However, the *Kṛtryakalpataru*, four centuries before, does not come near the SAS in the meticulous ritualizing of the daily life of Śūdras. The Śūdra is largely free of the ritual obligations incumbent on the twice-born. In some respects, livelihoods for instance, Lakṣmīdhara appears more permissive, or more likely retains the minimal interest in Śūdras of earlier Dharmasūtras. Later writers of digests such Raghunandana and Kamalākara denied Śūdras (and even Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas regarded as now degraded to Śūdras) some of the rights they had enjoyed in the twelfth century. For instance, Lakṣmīdhara recognized the right of Śūdras to read the Purāṇas and recite Purāṇic mantras on their own.

> The *Kalpatarukāra* also says that a Śūdra is qualified to recite Purāṇic mantras as part of the ritual. Others, however, are of the opinion that Purāṇic mantras should be recited by Brahmins only and a Śūdra should just say "*nama*" himself.
>
> SAS 106

Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa cites this view as an alternative, but concurs with Kamalākara that Brahmins should recite the Purāṇas to Śūdras: Śūdras should not recite or study them on their own. Lakṣmīdhara, however, rigorously maintains the old ban on Vedic education and mantras.[73] Whoever teaches a Śūdra about dharma and vows is damned. (II.33). A Śūdra has no need to know Vedic rites since he is not entitled to sacrifice with its *adṛṣṭa* (invisible) fruits.

One can decipher the real significance of *adṛṣṭa* as the secret of power: the irrationality of its justification of inequality. Such knowledge would upset the settled order of *varṇāśramadharma*, which sacrifice maintains, and lead to *varṇasaṅkara* (II.33). Thus, Brahmanical dominance was founded on and reproduced by the prohibition of *vaidika* to other caste groups outside the "cowpen" of the *dvija*.

One wants to see the humaneness and inclusivity of the SAS as reflecting the tolerant humane era of Akbar. But this conciliatory mildness is already present in the *Kṛtryakalpataru*. Lakṣmīdhara relaxes the regulations on livelihood, but keeps the Vedic prohibition in place. All the harsher punitive measures are now gone. What is different is that he neither elaborates the ritual and devotional practices the good Śūdra can and should follow, nor appears to be overly concerned with the Śūdra or the deep ritualization of his life. This kind of in-depth ritualization appears to be an entirely later development.

Śūdradharma texts represent a new cycle and intensification in Brahmanization, understood as the ritual regulation of the lives of the lower castes. While the early Dharmasūtras—Manu, Gautama, and Āpastamba—may have displayed a "politics of contempt" with their severity and punitiveness toward Śūdras, there is no overt contempt in later *śūdradharma* texts. On the contrary. Although the traces of discrimination remain in the cited authorities,

[73] At II.29, he discusses, "things not to be given to a Śūdra."

śūdradharma texts themselves represent an effort at a more deeply embedded regulation of the Śūdra through inclusion and reconciliation. The harsher aspects in the tradition are passed over and replaced by a new attention to his qualification (*adhikāra*) and to explaining the rituals and devotions open to him. *Śūdradharma* texts do not express so much an overt "politics of contempt" toward Śūdras as an outlook of paternalistic care.[74]

In them we see a new stage in the long process of converting Vedic sacrifices and rites into devotional observances open to all devout Hindus who demonstrated their goodness and qualification for them by living piously and conscientiously observing them, and, one must add, being able to pay for them. This trend was given great impetus by the spiritual universalism of Bhakti. We can see the resultant combination of Vedism with popular worship in the present day when morning *sandhyā* includes chanting the names of Viṣṇu. This syncretism is well under way in the SAS, although Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa still offers chanting prayers to the gods as a substitute for *sandhyā* for Śūdras. As performed today in many parts of India, *sandhyā-vandana* is a composite of Vedic mantras, *namaskāra* mantras like "*Keśavāya namaḥ*," "*Anantāya namaḥ*," Āgamic ritual, yogic *prāṇāyāma*, and *tarpaṇa* to non-Vedic deities and planets.[75]

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The critique of Orientalism has shown how Western Indologists developed a misleading but ideologically and administratively useful picture of Indian society, mainly based on the philological study of the Brahmanical tradition as preserved in Sanskrit texts.[76] They did so in collaboration with Brahmin elites as their informants. The result was what Burton Stein calls "indologism": the view that Brahmanical texts were a true representation of Indian society as a timeless and unchanging order in which Brahmins were the most important social group and their ideas of purity and caste were the prevailing principles of social organization.

> What I am calling "indologism" is different in crucial ways. The ideology of divine hierarchy, *varnāśramadharma*, is an important part of the ancient knowledge of India, beginning with the post-Vedic *Brahmaṇa* texts, with their neat order of social differences within a moral unity, and continuing through medieval *dharmaśastra*

[74] This *bien pensant* paternalism is seen in the conventional pairing of Śūdras with women in Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa's sources. The Purāṇas are repeatedly recommended as the most suitable scripture for both Śūdras and women. The *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa* is quoted as saying that the wise regard Śūdras the same as women (SAS 47). Śūdras and women perform the same vows, fasts, penances, purifications, and cleaning. They are equally excluded from Vedic education, the use of Vedic mantras and the *praṇava*, speaking Sanskrit, and touching images of the gods and non-primordial *liṅga*s. They both are to use the *namaskāra* mantra and perform *homa* and other rites with a Brahmin priest officiating. They may receive Vaiṣṇava initiation instead of *upanayana*. Far more needs to be said about the patriarchal relation between caste and gender in Hinduism at work in this identification of the subject positions of Śūdras and women than I can here.

[75] *The Cultural Heritage of India*, ed. Haridas Bhattacharya (Calcutta, Ramakrishna Mission, 1956), 7:446.

[76] This is another controversial topic with a huge body of scholarship. I mention only the works that have shaped my own take on it— a middle way that sees the post-colonialist point made about the colonial construction of Hinduism and caste, but is closer to those who take a longer view of that process of construction and the part Brahmins and Brahmanism played in it: Bayly, Pollock, van der Veer, Lorenzen, Hiltebeitel.

> texts, with their more messy, contingent, and regionally varied codes. These texts—particularly the former— received a new lease and legitimacy at the hands of European orientalists who constructed the knowledge we call "indology" and what I, polemically, call "indologism." By the latter I mean the conversion of the findings of a valid knowledge and discourse, based upon ancient texts, into a social theory allegedly pertinent…to pre-modern societies South Asia, where it can have at best a partial validity.[77]

Caste in particular was seized on as the very essence of Hinduism. Louis Dumont's *Homo Hierarchicus* is the purest epitome of this essentialism with its ahistorical valorization of hierarchy based on Brahmanocentric distinctions between the pure and impure, turning India into a land of static religiosity in a kind of inverted or structuralist orientalism which purports to see things from the Indian point of view.[78]

The problem with this picture is that it took Brahmanical ideology at its face value as descriptive rather than as prescriptive and normative. As Pollock and others have argued, the view of some post-colonialists that Hinduism was invented by western scholars and colonial administrators in the nineteenth century was an understandable but excessive reaction to the complicity of essentializing Orientalism with imperial rule. This reaction was pushed to such lengths even the distinctly Indian institution of caste was claimed to be virtually a product of colonial rule. If nothing else, Dharmashastric texts like the SAS show that a fully elaborated discourse of caste was in place long before. Caste and Hinduism in the form westerners encountered them largely crystallized in the centuries of Muslim and Mughal rule, as David Lorenzen and others argue.[79]

The Indologists had this right: Brahmanization did not begin with the Raj, nor was caste simply a colonial construction. But the post-colonialists, for their part, were also right in rejecting the idea that Brahmanism and caste were the eternal essence and key to Hinduism. Brahmanical communalism and caste was a long and ongoing project. The colonialist view of caste as the essence of Indian culture was not pure invention, but it *was* based on the hegemonic discourse of *varṇāśramadharma* as most authoritatively stated in Dharmaśāstra. European scholarship and administration gave Brahmanism a new lease on life. The *dharmaśāstra*s Brahmins were reading in their ashrams and councils arguably had little bearing on the lives of most Indians until the British decided to make it the law of the land. In a way, colonial Indology took up where Brahmanism left off and achieved it aims more thoroughly than ever before, but for its own purposes of rule and administration, misrecognizing and reproducing its ideological function. During the post-Mughal "Brahman Raj," as Susan Bayly has called it, and continuing on into the Raj when

[77] Quoted in Pollock, "*Deep Orientalism?,*" 98 from Burton Stein, "Reapproaching Vijayanagara," in Robert E. Frykenberg and Pauline Kolenda, eds., *Studies of South Asia: An Anthology of Recent Research and Scholarship* (Madras, 1985), 36-37.
[78] Bayly, Dirks, and Raheja. Bayly argues that Dumont's model is useful for certain states and periods, such as the "Brahman Raj" (1700-1830), as she terms it.
[79] *Who Invented Hinduism?*, 1-36.

aligned with imperial rule, Brahmins achieved a new kind of pan-Indian cultural ascendancy they had only been able to dream about in previous eras in their "poetics of power" and "politics of contempt."[80]

There are deep problems with understanding the relation between an ideological discourse and the social reality, which I can only skim over here. Suffice it to say, Brahmanical caste ideology as a discourse of power had been at work for centuries shaping and inflecting the way Indians spoke about and conceptualized their lives. This process has been characterized with varying emphases as Brahmanization, Sanskritization, Hinduization, the Great Tradition, shastrification, internal Orientalism, and inner colonization.

M. N. Srinivas' term for the process of deep ritualization I am describing here is Sanskritization.[81] Sanskritization is a wider process than Brahmanization, since Brahmins were not always the agents.[82] Low castes enthusiastically Sankritized themselves. Sectarian movements like the Liṅgāyats powered the process of Sanskritization among low castes. But upward mobility and caste struggle were the main forces driving Sanskritization. Śūdras no less than Brahmins found it in their social interest to adopt brahmanical rites, customs, and beliefs. The division between *sat*- and *asat*-Śūdras fostered by Brahmins further ratcheted up their adoption of high caste attributes such as the rituals and devotions in the SAS.

Sanskritization was the age old organ of caste formation and mobility. In the sixteenth century, it was taking place in new circumstances: the Mughal political economy of absolutist centralism, reurbanization, and economic expansion within the world system, the entrenchment of caste, the beginning of the end of frontier expansion and spatial mobility and its supercession by increasing competition among castes within narrow, localized ranking systems, the social and political success of many Śūdra castes, and a widening class hierarchy among Śūdra *jāti*s from the rich and powerful at one end preoccupied with their own ritual status and marginally Hinduized poor laborers at the other.

Srinivas defines Sanskritization as the process by which a low caste, tribe or other group takes over the customs, ritual, beliefs, ideology and style of life of a high and, in particular, a twice-born caste. The Sanskritization of a group has the effect of improving its position in the local caste hierarchy. It presupposes either an improvement in

[80] Susan Bayly, *Caste, Society and Politics in India from the Eighteenth Century to the Modern Age,* 64-96.

[81] M. N. Srinivas, *The Cohesive Role of Sanskritization and Other Essays* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1989), 56-72; *Caste in Modern India* (Bombay: 1962), 42-43. David Lorenzen points out the limitation in the concept of Sanskritization: it remains a view "from the top down" and so reproduces the normative upper caste point of view that the culture and folkway traditions of low caste groups were only poorly Sanskritized prototypes of upper caste culture. Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa shows considerable respect for the local, family traditions of Śūdras and accepts some of them as valid counterparts to Vedic rites. *Who Invented Hinduism?*: *Essays on Religion in India* (Delhi: Yoda Press, 2006), 78.

[82]Brahmanism itself undergoes change: Vedic Brahmins ate meat, drank alcohol, and made blood sacrifices, all of which later vegetarian Brahmins abhorred.

the economic or political position of the group concerned or a higher group self-consciousness resulting from its contact with a source of the "Great Tradition." The social aspirations of low *jāti*s led them to take on the customs and way of life of their betters and the symbols of high ritual rank. Concern with ritual purity was an upper caste preoccupation imitated by better off Śūdras.

The SAS perfectly epitomizes the two legal fictions that Srinivas saw as working to spread Sanskritized high culture among the lower *jāti*s. First the ban on performance of Vedic rituals was circumvented by restricting the chanting of the mantras. Removing the mantras from the rituals and substituting Purāṇic prayers is the red-letter rubric of the SAS. Second, a Brahmin priest officiates. He does not chant Vedic mantras, but post-Vedic verses in Sanskrit, Purāṇic litanies, *maṅgala*s, *stotra*s, and other family traditions. In this way, Vedic rituals were opened to Śūdras. Alternatively, Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa finds a substitute for other rites such as birthday and parting-of-the-hair for which Śūdras were not qualified.[83] At the time for them, the traditional family custom (*maṅgalācāra*) should be performed, not the rite itself. Note the acknowledgment that Śūdra families have their own traditions and invite Brahmins priests to minister them.

In actuality, the Brahmanical ban was never very effective in preventing socially ambitious, low caste people from adopting Vedic rites and customs, even chanting Vedic mantras and wearing the sacred thread. The jealousy and hostility of dominant castes was always the real and effective barrier to lower caste appropriation of the ritual symbols of high status. Late *śūdradharma* texts catered to these aspirations for higher socio-religious status while preserving Brāhmaṇa priestly authority and *vaidika* charisma.

Deep Ritualization

It is often said in a general and loose way that *śūdradharma* texts were improving the status of Śūdras. This is the view of Kane, Sharma, Vajpeyi, and Jaiswal. It is more accurate to say, as Sharma also does, that *śūdradharma* texts were reacting to the improved and high status of many Śūdras with the age-old strategy of neo-Brahmanism—cooptation and modest accommodation, integrating them more fully into the ritual system. They pulled off the feat of reframing a tradition that radically excluded Śūdras in such a way as to invite them in and find a respectful place for them, while preserving the principle of inequality with pragmatic flexibility. Dharmaśāstra was to be for Śūdras too now, not just the twice-born. *Sat*-Śūdras, in a sense, had become the de facto third *varṇa*.

[83] SAS 71.

This was the point of the enlargement of ritual "rights."[84] These enlarged ritual rights were, in reality, new duties that were now to be obligatory (*nitya*) for respectable high status Śūdras and observed with the ministrations of Brahmin priests. Śūdras must now follow all the detailed rules minutely detailed in the sūtras, śāstras, and vidhānas about daily *āhnika*s, toilet, purity, and devotions in times past required only of the twice-born. Well-off, high status Śūdras were already observing many rituals. Late *śūdradharma* texts like the SAS were simply recognizing the fact and regularizing the practice. Brahmins were adapting to changing social circumstances of the degraded Kaliyuga by expanding their clientele and thus preserving their monopoly of fee for service.

Patronage was undoubtedly an incentive for Brahmins to expand the religious rights of Śūdras. G. S. Ghurye argued that self–interest motivated Brahmins to enlarge the ritual rites of Śūdras.[85] There is no point in denying that this must have been an important consideration, given the connection between the ability to pay and perform Vedic sacrifices. By opening Brahmanical rites to Śūdras, they enlarged their clientele. Improvement in the material conditions of Śūdras enabled them to pay priests to perform sacrifices and sacraments.

A minority view found in Raghunandana and others (there is no trace of it in the SAS) was that Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas were non-existent in the Kaliyuga and had become Śūdras through non-performance of their *varṇa* duties.[86] Indeed, for Raghunandana, Brāhmaṇas were the only twice-born castes and there were only two *varṇa*s: Brāhmaṇas and Śūdras. The implication was that proper performance by "Śūdras" of their *varṇa* duties, including of course gifts and fees to Brāhmaṇas, was the way to reclaim *varṇa*. The Brahmin fear that Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas were disappearing in the Kaliyuga leaving only Brahmins and Śūdras reflects the social realities of the day. Śūdras could "kṣatriyize" themselves by pious observance and recover their true but latent kṣatriyahood. In addition, in the age of Muslim domination, Kṣatriya power was understandably in doubt. In such circumstances Brahmins, not surprisingly, found it advantageous to cultivate better-off *sat*-Śūdras and instill a sense that they were within the pale of Vedic orthodoxy and not wholly shut out, as the letter of the law would appear to make them.

The "liberalizing" character the SAS displays was already in the sources, and to that extent the SAS is entirely conservative. So much so, that it is misleading to describe the SAS as liberalizing. Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa was merely citing well established views. As we saw, Lakṣmīdhara centuries before was in a sense more liberal on the question of Śūdra access to the Purāṇas. What we see in Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa and the late medieval *smṛtikāra*s is a new cycle in the con-

[84] I have adopted Sharma, Jaiswal, and Vajpeyi's term "rights" for the religious emancipation of the Śūdra or rather the codification of new duties as a shorthand despite the problems with its usage.
[85] G. S. Ghurye, *Class and Class in India*, 95. Sharma, *Śūdras*, 312.
[86] Dutt, *Origin and Growth of Caste*, 83-89.

solidation of caste, relying on the reforms instituted in the *smṛti*s of the Gupta period, perhaps on the principle that the best way to control new social forces is to give them a large corral. Enlargement was consolidation. Rights are duties (and markers of status and privilege) in a ritually regulated social order. To be sure, genuine concern for the spiritual welfare of low caste people must certainly have been at work as well.[87]

The process of enlarging the religious rights and duties of Śūdras, embedding them more fully in the fold of Brahmanism and rooting caste more deeply in their lives, reaches its culmination in late medieval *śūdradharma* texts: the *Śūdradharmabodhinī* of Madanapāla (14th c.), the *Śūdrācāracintāmani* of Vācaspatimiśra (15th c.), the *Śūdrācāraśiromaṇi* of Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa and the *Śūdrakṛtyatattva* of Raghunandana (16th c.), and the *Śūdrakamalākara* of Kamalākarabhaṭṭa (17th c.). But it was based on a Brahmanism that builds on the achievements of an earlier upsurge of popular Vaiṣṇavism by further enlarging the religious rights of Śūdras and placing them on a level with people of the three higher *varṇa*s in respect of many ceremonies. Sacrifices involving the feeding of Brahmins (*pañcayajña*s, *pākayajña*s), *śrāddha*s, *vrata*s, *saṁskāra*s, *prāyaścitta*, *dāna*, and *pūrtadharma* (i.e., building wells, tanks, temples, parks, food distributions, and other works of charity and public benefaction), had long been permitted to Śūdras when administered without Vedic mantras.

A similar dynamic of cooptation and Brahmanization was at work in this second upwelling of Vaiṣṇava devotion. In the first phase, Brāhmaṇas had put Bhagavatism to work maintaining the *varṇa* order, as we see in Manu and the *Bhagavad Gītā*. Devotion to Kṛṣṇa joined obedient service to the twice-born as a Śūdra's *svadharma*: salvation was attained through performing the duties of one's own caste. Vaiṣṇavism and theistic cult in general was Brahmanism's exceedingly successful response to the challenge of the *śramana* sects. Disaffected Śūdras with new political and economic power were lured away from *nāstika* temptations into Vaiṣṇava cult with its stress on devotional salvation outside the Vedas.

Similarly, the pressure of socio-economic change in the late medieval period as mediated through the Bhakti movements prompted a new round of accommodation in Dharmaśāstra. The task remained the same—to give room to these new aspirations within the Brahmanical order while preserving essential *dvija*, i.e., Brāhmaṇa, privileges. The increase in the number of *saṁskāra*s allowed Śūdras is an index of their improving social position in late medieval times. Through these repeated cycles of crisis and reform, relaxation and retrenchment, Brahmanical caste

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[87] "In the sphere of religion, the tendency is to forbid the Śūdra the use of the most efficacious formulas and rites on the one hand, and to exhort him to perform most of the daily rites and obligatory sacraments prescribed for the other castes." Ghurye, *Caste, Class, and Occupation*, 90-91.

expands and deepens it systematic reach across the social landscape of the subcontinent. Although the dynamic in the two phases is somewhat different, it is no coincidence that as Vaiṣṇavism arose in the wake of Buddhism, Bhaktism does so in the shadow of another spiritually equalitarian faith, Islam, again prodding orthodox Brahmanism to concession and reform. During the centuries of medieval feudalization and Muslim rule, the caste position of Śūdras had deteriorated and caste tightened its grip.

Śūdras and the Vedas

The Republic of India has made great progress toward removing the caste disqualifications that were enshrined in Dharmaśāstra. This is most remarkable in the access gained by lower castes and women to Vedic education and scriptures, from the study of which they were debarred for centuries. My two Sanskrit teachers at the University of Pune, Nirmala Kulkarni and Manisha Phanasalkar, are exemplars as women specializing in Vedic, albeit of Brahmin families.

The exclusion of Śūdras and women from the Vedas was the fundamental disqualification as far as Brahmins were concerned, and virtually the only one that Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa still unwaveringly sustains, while relaxing, qualifying, or providing a substitute for many other rituals. Many modern Hindus came to see this exclusion of women and lower castes in classical and medieval Hinduism as an unfair discrimination counter to the original spirit of the Vedas and detrimental to its character and advancement. As K. Satchidananda Murty observes:

> One of the great obstacles to the preservation and propagation of the Vedas has been denial of universal access to it. For several centuries only the traivarṇika men (men of the upper three castes) have been generally considered eligible to undertake Vedic study, but in effect it has been the exclusive privilege and prerogative of male Brahmins only. Even today most Brahmins who have learnt the Veda, either with or without meaning, generally do not teach it to women, śūdras and others.[88]

And, so, in modern times there was a call to return to a supposed earlier inclusiveness, the historical evidence for which is rather sketchy, resting mainly on selective reading of the Vedas. Hindu reformers wanted to bring the Vedas into accord with the liberal and nationalist sensibilities of the day.[89] Preparing the way for them, Ram Mohan Roy, the Brahmo Samaj, Vivekananda, and the Theosophists proclaimed the Vedas to be not only the property of high caste Hindus, but of all Hindus, and India's spiritual gift to the world.

A few texts do declare that the Vedas were revealed for the sake of all people. Murty gives two of them:

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[88] K. Satchidananda Murty, *Vedic Hermeneutics*, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1993, 14-17, quoted in Arvind Sharma, *Modern Hindu Thought: An Introduction*, Oxford University Press, 2005, p.127.

[89] Rammohan Roy and Swami Dayananda began collecting *smṛti* texts in support of the abolition of Śūdra disqualifications, *satī*, child marriage, caste based on birth, and widow remarriage. Sharma, *Śūdras in Ancient India*, 2-3.

> …the Veda itself does not say that it is meant for any particular sex, caste or race. On the contrary, it declares that it is meant for all. There is the following Yajurvedic text: 'Just as I have revealed this auspicious word to all human beings, so must you. I have revealed the Vedic truth to Brāhmins, Kshatriyas, Śūdras, Āryas, personal servants (*svāya*) and to the lowest of Śūdras (*araṇāya*) also.' There is also the following Atharvavedic text: 'O Man, I, being of the nature of truth and being unfathomable, have revealed the true Vedic knowledge; so I am he who gave birth to the Veda. I cannot be partial either to a Dāsa (slave) or an Ārya; I save all those who behave like me (i.e., impartially) and follow my truthful commands. The Veda is a universal scripture."[90]

There was a strain of spiritual equality in the Vedas, and clearly so in the *Upaniṣads*, centuries before Vaiṣṇava Bhakti and Tantra more ardently promoted it. It is also notable that the two texts Murty cites are from the *Yajur Veda* and the *Atharva Veda*. *Yajur Veda* XXVI.2 is one of the passages that may have recommended the Vājasaneyin rite to later *smṛtikāra*s, including Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa, as the default rite for Śūdras.

The *Atharva Veda* with its content of magical spells, charms, and curses was considered more appropriate knowledge for Śūdras and women than the sacred triad.[91] R. S. Sharma interprets *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* III.12.9.2 to mean that the fourth Veda was regarded as belonging to the fourth *varṇa*.

> Thus it is stated in the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* that a vaiśya was born of the *Ṛg Veda*, the kṣatriya of the *Yajur Veda*, and the brāhmaṇa of the *Sāma Veda*. This obviously implies that *Atharva Veda* was meant for the śūdra—a provision which is later vaguely repeated in the *Āpastamba Dharmasūtra*. [92]

Whatever one might think of this, it is clear that, although excluded from Vedic knowledge, the Śūdra was not without vocational and professional training of a sort.[93] The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* permits a priest to instruct snake-charmers, lenders, fishermen, bird-catchers, and forest tribesmen and others performing Śūdra occupations in *Itihāsa*, the *Atharva Veda*, *sarpavidyā* (snake-charming), and *devajana-vidyā* (demonology).[94] It is not clear that such instruction ever involved literacy.

Other texts suggest that in Vedic times, ritual was more open to the communal participation of people who would be later classed as Śūdras.[95] In the post-Vedic period, as these Śūdras underwent increasing subjection, they suffered increasing shastric disqualification as well.[96]

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[90] Quoted in A. Sharma, *Modern Hindu Thought*, 127.
[91] According to Āpastamba ii.11.29.
[92] Sharma, *Śūdras in Ancient India*, 74-75.
[93] Medicine and other arts were considered supplements to the *Atharva Veda*. Training in the *śāstra*s of medicine, music, theatre, and the like was always more a matter of apprenticeship than literacy. A. S. Altekar in his *Education in Ancient India* assumed that all Śūdras were illiterate, but since most artisans, actors, and musicians were Śūdras, it is not improbable that some in later centuries could read manuals like the *Nāṭyasāstra*. See Scharfe on professional education and literacy. *Education*, 83-6, 263*ff*.
[94] *Śūdras in Ancient India*, 75.
[95] Kane (II. 1. 155-157) collected some of them. The *Bhāradvāja Śrauta Sūtra* (V.2.8) reports the view that a Śūdra could consecrate the three Vedic sacred fires. The liturgy of some Vedic rituals made provision for Śūdra participation. Why do so if they were excluded? According to the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* I.1.4.2, in the *darśapūrṇamāsa* (new and full moon rites) the *haviskṛt*, who prepares the oblation, is summoned with an *ehi* (come here), if he is a Brāhmaṇa, *āgahi*, if a Kṣatriya, *ādrava* (hasten here), if a Vaiśya, and *ādhāva* (run up), if a Śūdra. Śūdras are even included in the Sanskrit formulae for drinking sacred *soma*:[95]

> There are fours castes, Brāhmaṇa, Rājanaya, Vaiśya, and Śūdra;

Some non-Aryans and groups not classed among the three higher *varṇa*s had recognized rights to *upanayana* and Vedic sacrifice. They are also examples of the many anomalies of caste status. The Rathakāras (wheelwrights) were ambiguously classified in the *śāstra*s as a mixed or special caste with a right to initiation and a sacred fire.[97] They may have been high prestige artisans in Vedic times who were degraded to quasi-Śūdra status. Niṣādas were wild tribal hunters in Vedic literature, later normally classified as Śūdras, who had rights to some sacrifices.[98] Such contradictions were common and inevitable given the arbitrariness and variety of *varṇa* classifications. Not surprisingly, from the beginning there were differences of opinion among *smṛtikāra*s, compounded by the shifting statuses of castes, about who was or was not a Śūdra and what his ritual rights were.

Although later canonical texts such as the *Mīmāṁsā* and *Brahma Sūtra*s confirm Śūdra exclusion, traces of suppressed strains of thinking survive in them as rejected *pūrvapakṣa*s that hint at alternative customs.

In the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* IV. 1-2, we have the story of Jānaśruti Pautrāyaṇa and Raikva, wherein the latter addresses Jānaśruti as a Śūdra and imparts to him the *samvarga* (absorption) *vidyā*. The *Brahma Sūtra* (I.3.34-38) cites this text to prove that Śūdras are disqualified for knowledge of Brahman:

> The grief that he felt on hearing the disrespectful words made him run.[99] Sūtra 1.3.34

In doing so, it cites an unnamed *pūrvapakṣin* who argues that Śūdras have the right to *brahmavidyā*, since they desire and have the capacity for that knowledge, and there is no scriptural prohibition as there is on offering sacrifices. This indicates, if nothing else, that such ideas were in circulation and called for refutation.

> no one of them vomits the *soma*. ŚB V.5.4.9

Śūdras are included in the observance of *somayāga* taking a vow to drink whey in place of milk (*payovrata*). Karka in the *Kātyāyana Śrauta Śūtra* specifies that a Śūdra should take sour curd when performing a particular Vedic vow. These examples are among the many traces of evidence that Śūdras once had some kind of participation in Vedic ceremonial, if not full *adhikāra*. Rangaswami Aiyangar suggested (without providing evidence) that Śūdra boys and girls received *upanayana* without a formal ceremony. Scharfe, however, regards the idea that any girls, let alone Śūdra girls, were initiated was a romantic fantasy of later authors and criticizes Kane on this score. Helmut Scharfe, *Education in Ancient India* (Leiden: Brill, 2002): 207-208. In the Mauryan period, Kauṭilya allowed the sons of Śūdras to inherit property, enjoy rights to Vedic sacrifice and education, and serve in government as ministers (*amātya*).

[96] Sharma, *Śūdras in Ancient India***,** 46-89 is the most thorough discussion of this process of subjection and loss of rights in late Vedic times. See also D. D. Kosambi, *An Introduction to the Study of History*, rev. 2nd ed. (Bombay: Popular Prakashan, 1975), 100-101*ff*; Sangeet Kumar, *Changing Role of the Caste System: A Critique* (Jaipur and New Delhi: Rawat Publications, 2005), 91*ff*; and, G. S. Ghurye, *Caste, Class and Occupation* (Bombay: Popular Publications, 1961), 42*f.*

[97] Kane HD (1974) II.1.45-46, 94. Ghurye 50 80. Dutt 83, 144-45. Sharma, *Śūdras in Ancient India* 76-9. Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa (22) cites a version of Yājñavalkya 1.95: "A Rathakāra is begotten on a Karaṇa by a Māhiṣya. He lives as an artisan knowledgeable in all the *śilpa śāstra*s. All the sacraments such as initiation should be performed for him according to textual sources;" and Śaṅkha: "the Rathakāra is the secondary mixing of a Kṣatriya father and a Karaṇa mother and entitled to *upanayana*, to offer sacrifices and gifts, and to make a living by taming horses, building chariots and houses."

[98] Namely, *agnihotra*, *daśapurṇamāsa*, and an *īṣṭi* to Rudra, according to some texts and authors. Kane HDS (1974): II.1.86-87. Sharma, *Śūdras in Ancient India* 77-79, 143-6, 225-7, 331-2. Yāska (6th-5th BCE) in the *Nirukta* (III.8) explains the "five peoples" (*pañcajanāḥ*) of *Ṛg Veda* X. 53-54 as meaning the four *varṇas* and Niṣādas participated in sacrifice. Sharma thinks that this shows that in Yāska's time, Śūdras and Niṣādas took part in it.

[99] *The Vedānta Sutras of Bādarāyana, with the commentary by Śaṅkara*, trans. by George Thibaut, part 1, *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. XXXIV (Dover: New York, 1962), 223.

The *Brahma Sūtra* excludes Śūdras from sacred knowledge on the grounds that they are not entitled to access it because: such knowledge is attained only through recitation of the Vedas; the right to recite the Vedas presupposes the right to initiation; and this right is reserved to the first three *varṇa*s only by Vedic injunction.[100]

As Kane, among many others, has pointed out, Śaṅkara's etymology of "śūdra" is far-fetched, derived from the sorrow (*śuc*) Jānaśruti feels hearing the contemptuous talk of the flamingoes about himself, then running off (*dru*) to Raikva.[101] The argument goes that when Raikva addresses Jānaśruti as "Śūdra," he means that he overcome by grief because deprived of knowledge and is not calling him a member of the fourth *varṇa*. Such a strained interpretation was clearly contrived to get round the scandal to Brahmin feeling in a low caste person presuming to hear the Vedas or understand their meaning.

The commentators on the *Brahma Sūtra* accept the exclusion of Śūdras from Vedic knowledge, finding alternative ways for them to attain *mokṣa*.[102] The solution finally hit on by later *smṛti* is to allow the Śūdra to learn *mokṣadharma* from the *Mahābhārata* and Purāṇas, as does the SAS (56).[103] Śūdras are unqualified for Vedic education, but this is no impediment to their salvation. They can learn about *mokṣadharma* through hearing the Purāṇas instead, which were revealed expressly to meet their need.[104] Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa's view on this matter is the same as Gāgābhaṭṭa's several decades later:

> Just because the knowledge of the truth to be derived from study of the Upaniṣads is accessible only to the three higher *varṇa*s, it by no means follows that Śūdras and so on are excluded from ultimate liberation. They can achieve liberation because they have access to the meaning of the Upaniṣads by learning those texts that reproduce it in another form, such as the Purāṇas and the like.[105]

In his *bhaṣya,* Śaṅkara had already allowed non-*dvija*s to hear about *mokṣa* from the Itihāsas and Purā-ṇas.[106] Liberation, however, through *brahmavidyā*, defined as knowledge of *śruti*, was strictly reserved to *dvija*s, which effectively meant Brahmins. Good karma could play a part.[107] Examples are the sages Sūta Vidura and Dharmavyādha who were born Śūdras, but attained knowledge of *mokṣa* as the fruit of their former deeds.

Rāmānuja concurred with Śaṅkara in disallowing Śūdras to receive instruction in *brahmavidyā* and perform sacrifices by reason of their incapacity. But for Rāmānuja, *bhakti* was the primary means to salvation. In the *Śrībhāṣya*

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[100] *Brahmasūtra* I.3.34.
[101] HD (1974) II, pt. 1, 155.
[102] *The Brahma Sūtra: The Philosophy of Spiritual Life*, trans. with Introduction by S. Radhakrishnan (New York: Harper, 1960), 306-309.
[103] HD (1974) II, pt. 1, 156; *Śāntiparvan* 328.49
[104] SAS 56.
[105] Quoted from the *Bhaṭṭacintāmaṇi* in Pollock, "New Intellectuals in seventeenth-century India," 13n18.
[106] *Brahmasūtrabhāṣya* I.3.38.
[107] Ibid.

(I.3.39), he critiques the Advaita theory that *jñāna* is the main path of salvation, opening up a space for Śūdras as well to attain *brahmavidyā* through a gradual process of instruction and practice no different than that of Brahmins. They too can attain release from bondage by the path of devotion and the teaching of those knowledgeable in the traditions of the Vedas and the Tamil scriptures of the Alvar Vaiṣṇavas.[108]

> In this way the qualification of Śūdras for the knowledge of Brahman is perfectly clear. And as the knowledge of Brahman may be reached in this way not only by Śūdras, but also by Brāhmaṇas and members of the other higher castes, the poor Upaniṣad is practically defunct.[109]

The purification of *karman* was a prerequisite and auxiliary to attainment of the Lord's grace and consisted of following caste *dharma* and the practices of *bhakti* common to all *āśrama*s and *varṇa*s: prayer (*japa*), fasting (*upavāsa*), charity (*dāna*), and worship of the deities (*devatārādhana*).[110] Rāmānuja practiced what he preached, welcoming Jains, Buddhists, Śūdras, and untouchables into his fold; his gurus were non-Brahmins or Śūdras.[111]

The *Brahma Sūtra* (200 BCE-200 CE) extends Pūrvamīmāṃsā arguments against the Śūdra's entitlement to perform sacrifice, to disqualify him from hearing, and studying the Vedas.[112] The *locus classicus* is the *apaśūdrādhikaraṇa* section of the *Mīmāṃsā Sūtra* (completed ca. 400-500 CE).[113] Jaimini and Śabara reject the *pūrvapakṣa* that all four *varṇa*s are entitled to sacrifice by typically legalistic and circular reasoning, in this case, relying on a literalist interpretive strategy.[114] The *pūrvapakṣin*, appealing to Bādari, argues that Śūdras too have a right to sacrifice because the Vedic injunction (*yajeta*, *juhuyāt*) makes no distinction as to *varṇa*. Since they are not explicitly excluded from sacrifice, they may perform it.

Śabara counters that the injunctions to install a sacred fire and receive initiation name only the first three *varṇa*s. The omission of the Śūdra is not an oversight, but deliberate. Only the Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya and Vaiśya can have a sacred fire or receive *upanayana*.[115] The text must be read literally. As a sacred fire and initiation are the prerequisites to performing sacrifice, the Śūdra is therefore not qualified to sacrifice. Nor is the injunction that "desiring heaven, he should offer *agnihotra*" meant to apply to the Śūdra in any Vedic text, however much he too desires heaven. The Śūdra is not qualified to receive initiation because its purpose is Vedic study, and Vedic study is the

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[108] Radhakrishnan, *The Brahma Sūtra*, 308.
[109] George Thibaut translation. *The Vedānta Sūtras with the commentary of Rāmānuja*, *Sacred Books of the East,* vol. 48 (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1962): 346.
[110] Yoshitsugu Sawai, " Rāmānuja's Theory of Karman," *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 21. No. 1 (March, 1993): 25-26.
[111] Surendranath Dasgupta, *A History of Indian Philosphy*, vol. 3 (Cambridge, 1952): 104.
[112] For a useful discussion of this connection, see S. Pollock, "Deep Orientalism?: Notes on Sanskrit and Power Beyond the Raj," 109-111.
[113] *Adhyāya* VI, *pada* 1, *adhikaraṇa* 7, *sūtra*s 25-38. The *Mīmāmsā Sūtras of Jaimini*, ed. by B.D. Basu, *Sacred Books of the East* XXVII, reprint, (Allahabad, 1974).305-310.
[114] *Śābara-Bhāṣya*, trans. by Ganganatha Jha, 3 vols. (Baroda, 1973), II. 995-1002.
[115] Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa bases his denial of the sacred thread and *upanayana* to Śūdras on this conventional reason: only the three *dvija varṇa*s are explicitly granted the right (SAS 70, 71).

prerequisite to sacrifice. In the final analysis, therefore, the *Mīmāṃsā Sūtra* bases its denial of sacrifice to the Śūdra on his educational incapacity. The denial of Vedic education to Śūdras was so absolute that Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa still bans them from studying the ancillary Vedāṅgas and Pāṇinian grammar since their sole purpose is the acquisition of *vaidika* knowledge.[116]

This is a tautology of power. The Śūdra cannot sacrifice because he has no sacred fire or *upanayana*. He has no sacred fire or *upanayana* because the purpose of these is Vedic study. Because he has no Vedic knowledge, he cannot sacrifice. The ideological function of such a circular justification is to sacralize the subjection of the Śūdra through his enforced ignorance and deprivation and preserve upper caste privilege. On the other hand, Brahmins were only being pragmatic. Given the inaccessibility of Vedic learning to most everyone except Brahmins and the illiteracy, cultural exotism, and "backwardness" of many Śūdras, the argument of incapacity was realistic, however much the incapacity was a socio-historical facticity.

The categorical denial to Śūdras of *agnihotra homa*, the morning and evening oblation by the twice-born householder, especially of clarified butter (*ājya*), in the sacred fire, was a hard nub of scripturally sanctioned prohibition that could not be bypassed or relaxed. As time went by, the domestic rites for the twice-born—the *pañcayajña*s, *pākayajña*s, *tarpaṇa*, *vaiśvadeva*, *baliharaṇa*, *śrāddha*s, *vrata*s, and *saṁskāra*s—were administered to Śūdras without the Vedic mantras. For instance, Yājñavalkya allowed the *pañcayajña*s and Āpastamba *vaiśvadeva* to Śūdras under the superintendence of twice-born men.[117] But *agnihotra homa*, like all rites requiring Vedic mantras (e.g., *sandhyā*) or a sacred fire, could not be made so readily available.

The *saṁskāra*s (perfectings) appropriate for Śūdras were also at issue.[118] As in the case of Rathakāras, even *upanayana* was not a straightforward matter. Although Dharmashastric authors strictly reserve *upanayana* to *dvija*s, there were forms of initiation for entering occupations associated with Śūdras. Maskarin in his commentary on *Gautama Dharmaśāstra* IV.26 says that *Savarṇa*s (i.e., Śūdras "with *varṇa* status") are initiated (*upanīya*) and taught archery, Ambaṣṭhas medicine, and Niṣādas elephant training.[119] Suśruta reports that some authorities allowed a well-qualified Śūdra of good family and character to admitted to the study of medicine, omitting *upanayana* and Vedic mantras.[120] Ambaṣṭhas practice medicine in Manu as well.[121] Initiation in these cases seems to be a form of

[116] SAS 43.
[117] Y. 1.121; ĀP. 2, 3, 4.
[118] See Kane II, pt. 1, 198-199 for the differing *saṁskāra*s permitted Śūdras in the sources. The number allowed to Śūdras increases over time.
[119] *Gautama Dharma Sutra with Maskari Bhasya: A Critical Edition*, by Veda Mitra (New Delhi: Veda Mitra & Sons, 1969), 79
[120] Suśruta, *Sūtrasthāna* 2.2-5.

professional licensing. Being a physician was a *jīvikā* "looked down on by the twice-born" in the *sūtra*s and early *śāstra*s that later elevates in status with the Vaidyas.

By the Gupta era, Śūdras had gained the right to some rites—*śrāddha*, some vows and sacraments, *dāna*, and the rites of the householder, i.e., the *pañcamahāyajña*s and *pākayajña*s—when performed without Vedic mantras, substituting "*namaḥ*" in their place, in a domestic rather than a sacred fire.[122] According to Yājñavalkya (100-300 CE):

> A Śūdra should be attached to his wife, pure in conduct, a protector of his household,
> and devoted to *śrāddha*. He should perform the five sacrifices with the *nama* mantra. Y.1.121

The rites of *śrāddha* in the Gṛhyasūtras, like all the others in them, were not originally prescribed for Śūdras, but, as we see here, these were allowed to them.

The later Vaiṣṇavite parts of the *Śānti* and *Anuśāsana parvans* record this change in custom.[123] There is the instance of the Śūdra, Paijavana, who performs the *pākayajña*s, the minor domestic rites, but without the Vedic mantras: [124]

> Therefore, the Śūdra on his own, without the vows laid down in the Vedas, should offer
> the minor sacrifices of the *pākayajña*s. A *pūrṇapātra* is the fee for them.[125]
> We have heard the Śūdra, Paijavana, gave a hundred thousand *pūrṇapātra*s
> following the ordinance called *aindragni*.
> Sacrifice, O Bhārata, is for all the *varṇa*s, and the Śūdra too.
> Devotion is laid down as the first among all sacrifices.
> Devotion is a great divinity and purifies all sacrificers.
> Brāhmaṇas are a Śūdra's divinity. *Śāntiparvan* 60.38-41

Śāntiparvan 60.36 says that the Vedas allow the Śūdra the use of mantras with *namaḥ* and *svāhā*, the exclamation accompanying an oblation to the gods, and the performance of the *pākayajña*s with them after being formally consecrated (*yajñadīkṣā*). *Śāntiparvan* 60.39-43 allows sacrifice (*yajña*) to all *varṇa*s (*sarvavarṇeṣu*) with faith (*śraddhā*).

Similar views are found in the roughly contemporary chapters of the Purāṇas dealing with the duties of the *varṇa*s.[126] The *Mārkaṇḍeya* assigns the duties of making gifts and performing sacrifices to the Śūdra.[127] The *Brahmāṇḍa* concedes the right to perform the five great sacrifices.[128] The *Nṛsiṁha* declares that the great sacrifices

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121 Manu, 10.47.
122 Sharma, *Śūdras in Ancient India*, 296*ff*.
123 Sharma, *Śūdras in Ancient India*, 246.
124 Sharma (41-42) thinks that the story of Paijavana was a late thread of tradition in the *Śāntiparvan* and served as a precedent for Śūdras to perform sacrifices and make gifts.
125 A *pūrṇapātra* is a basket or vessel containing 256 handfuls of rice. An *aindragni* is a one-day sacrifice.
126 Sharma, 246. See R. C. Hazra, *Studies in the Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1975) for the dating of *Viṣṇu* 175, *Mārkaṇḍeya* 74, *Bhaviṣya* 188, and Bhāgavata 177.
127 MkP 28.7-8.
128 BrP III.12.19.

are for all *varṇa*s, women, and untouchables.[129] By the Gupta period, the *pañcamahāyajña*s are only metaphorically sacrifices; they are now simple domestic devotions, which could be opened to everyone like *pūjā*.

These allowances show up in the *smṛti*s, Purāṇas, and *Mahābhārata* at a time when Śūdras' conditions of life were improving. What was going on before that is a fog. One has the sense, however, that in practice there was always far more variation in Śūdras doing Vedic rituals than the strictures of the *smṛtikāra*s might lead one to believe, indeed, may be a reason for the stringency. The evidence of the Purāṇas, if only negatively, shows that Śūdras with the power and prosperity to do so adopted *traivarṇika* privileges and practices or simulacra thereof despite the objections of Brāhmaṇas.[130]

As Sharma points out, the crucial development in this period is not the non-recitation of Vedic mantras, that was a given, but the increasing number of rites and *saṁskāra*s, especially those concerned with child birth, Śūdras were following, provided the Vedic mantras were recited by a Brahmin.[131] It was now accepted that the rituals of *dvija*s followed *śruti* and those of Śūdras followed *smṛti*.[132] But, in practice, the distinction was not always of great moment.

> The fact that the Śūdras were not allowed to utter the Vedic mantras does continue a religious hiatus between them and the twice-born, but this is more formal than real.[133]

Caste and Karma

Still other texts can be collected expressing the view that caste is less a matter of birth than character. We find a current of protest, not only in expected dissident sources such as the Buddha's pronouncements on true *brāhmaṇatva*, but in the more liberal threads of the *Śāntiparvan* and in Brahmanical texts such as the *Vajrasūcika Upaniṣad*, against the idea that birth solely determines caste and character.[134]

> That Śūdra who is always struggling for self-restraint, truthfulness and dharma is a Brāhmaṇa in my opinion, for a Brāhmaṇa is so by his character
>
> *Vanaparvan* 216. 14-15

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[129] As quoted in Vṛddha Harīta VI.6.256.
[130] This had been happening since at least the early first millennium on the evidence of the *Vajrasūcī* (p. 13) that, "along with Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas, Śūdras are seen doing the various acts connected with sacrificing and officiating at sacrifices, studying and teaching, and accepting gifts." "Sudras are seen who are knowledgeable in all the *śāstra*s of the Vedas, grammar, Mīmāṁsā, Sāṁkhya, Vaiśeṣika, and astrology."
[131] In the *Vaijavāpa Gṛhyasutra*, a new text composed to accommodate them, Śūdras have eight. Sharma, 298.
[132] In the *Padma Purāṇa* (*Dharmakośa* III. pt. 1, 59). Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa distinguishes between *daiva* and *brāhmaṇa saṁskāras*, the former being for Brahmins only (SAS 67).
[133] Sharma, *Śūdras*, 300.
[134] The Buddhist *Vajrasūcī* declares that there are Brāhmaṇas even in the families of Kaivartas, Rajakas, and Caṇḍālas for whom the *saṁskāra*s of *cūḍākaraṇa*, *muñja*, *daṇḍa*, and *kāṣṭha* are performed. The first is tonsure, the other three seem associated with *upanayana*: the grass girdle, staff, and a stick of wood as fuel for the fire. *Vajrasūcī* of Aśvaghoṣa, ed. with Hindi translation by R. P. Prasad Dvivedi, *Harijivandas Prachyavidya Granthamala* 3 (Varanasi: Chaukhamba Amarabharati Prakashan, 1985): 28.

Great stress is laid on moral worth as the more important factor.

> Truthfulness, restraint, *tapas*, generosity, non-injury to sentient beings, constant adherence to dharma—these always lead men to the fruition of their goal, not caste or family.
>
> *Vanaparvan* 181. 42-43

> Truthfulness, generosity, freedom from hatred and wickedness, humility, kindness, and *tapas*—he is know as a Brāhmaṇa where these are seen. If these signs are seen in a Śūdra and they do not exist in a Brāhmaṇa, then the Śūdra would not be a Śūdra and the Brāhmaṇa would not be a Brāhmaṇa.
>
> *Śāntiparvan* 189.4, 8

Other verses in the *Śāntiparvan* declare that all four *varṇa*s should hear the Vedas and one ought to accept knowledge even from a Śūdra. A verse attributed to Manu says that: [135]

> *janmanā jāyate śūdraḥ saṁskārāt dvija ucyate.*
> *vedābhyāsāt bhavet vipro brahma jānāti brāhmaṇaḥ.*

> One is born a Śūdra; through the performance of rites he becomes a twice-born.
> By the study of the Vedas he becomes a *vipra*, but by the knowledge of Brahman
> he becomes a Brāhmaṇa.

Arguably, caste began as a division of labor that sorted men into classes by abilities and only later was combined with the karma theory of heredity. From a sociological point of view, the function of caste was to reproduce a subject class of exploitable labor. The practical function of Brahmanical *varṇa* theory was to validate it with sacred sanction. The foundational and sacrificial split, as it were, in the four *varṇa* system is between the three top *varṇa*s, the *dvija* ("born again") Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya, and Vaiśya, and the Śūdra, the *ekajati* ("once-born"), who is deprived of the privileges of the *dvija*, including access to the treasures of education and the possession of elite culture, as markers of caste domination. A ban on the Vedas was the sign of the Śūdra's subjection, although possibly making little difference in their day-to-day lives. Since the Vedas and Sanskrit learning were effectively a Brahmin monopoly, Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas in practice probably had not much more to do with it than Śūdras. The means and opportunity to acquire Sanskrit learning, in any case, would be in short supply to the poor.

The problem that *śūdradharma* texts like the SAS addressed is that, by Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa's day, many Śūdra castes were not part of the menial laboring classes. In many cases, they had attained power, wealth, and high social position and were not always distinguishable from Vaiśyas or even Kṣatriyas. Dharmaśāstra had to accommodate them with adjustments that did not endanger the structures of upper caste privilege while preserving the subordination of the lower *jāti*s.

[135] Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan in the introduction to *The Brahma Sūtra: The Philosophy of Spiritual Life* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1960), 162.

By the time of Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa, *karma* had long been established in Dharmaśāstra as the key to dharma. Not only was caste status improved or worsened (*jātyutkarṣa* and *jātyapakarṣa*,) by breeding up or down the *varṇa* hierarchy through marriage,[136] the karmic effects of good or bad livelihood had the same result over five to seven generations, as Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa discusses.[137] After seven generations of intermarriage and following a higher, more pure livelihood, even Śūdras turned into Brahmins. The theory of karma correlated occupation, *jāti*, and character, but not in some fatalistically inflexible way. There was room for character, as evidenced by achievement, to remake social position and find a new place in the *varṇa* system ratified with the blessings of Brahmins properly patronized. Karma was modifiable by conduct, knowledge, devotion, and grace. Caste status was renegotiable for powerful families and groups, their success being the marker of their merit.

[136] Kane, HD (1974) II. pt. 1, 61-65.
[137] SAS 30-31.

8

Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa on the Rituals for Śūdras

Most of the SAS is devoted to laying out the daily observances and worship for Śūdras. Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa specifies the rules for the *āhnika*s at great length. These include venerating deities in the early morning, excretion, sipping water (*ācamana*), washing the teeth (*dantadhāvana*), bathing (*snāna*), applying sectarian marks (*ūrdhvapuṇḍra*), *tarpaṇa*, *pūjā*, *upacāras* (clothing, fragrances, incense, lamps, food offerings, circumambulation, bowing, flowers), the five great sacrifices (*pañcamahāyajña*), the rite for meals (*bhojana*), *vaiśvadeva*, and *baliharaṇa*. The many Śūdra-specific rules for *aśauca* (birth and death impurity), *śrāddha* and *antyeṣṭi* (last rites) are also laid out in detail. Howsoever expansive and inclusive his view of devotional practice, Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa remains, nonetheless, unequivocally restrictive when it comes to anything involving the Vedas. He forbids Śūdras to receive Vedic education, speak Sanskrit, learn Pāṇinian grammar, study the Vedāṅgas, keep a sacred fire, receive the *saṁskāra*s of birth (*jātakarma*), parting-of-the-hair (*sīmanta*) and initiation (*upanayana*), perform acts of worship, e.g., *sandhyā*, which require Vedic mantras such as the Gāyatrī. The prohibition on Vedic mantras is absolute and constant in the SAS. Everything else seems to be negotiable.

The *pañcamahāyajña*s, *śrāddha* rites for the deceased, and *dāna* are clearly granted to Śūdras in Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa's sources. These had been gained long ago by the Gupta period, as is evident from the *Śāntiparvan* and some Purāṇas.[1] The restrictions on Brahmins accepting food and gifts from Śūdras except in an emergency in earlier Dharmaśāstra went by the way and *dāna* was popularized as one of the very best means of salvation or a better incarnation for Śūdras.[2] This change no doubt had much to do with the simple fact that Brahmin priests were more and more the recipients of gifts and fees from the sacrifices, penances, *śrāddha*s, and *saṁskāra*s they performed for people who might be categorized as Śūdras in Dharmaśāstra and in emulation of the donations to the Saṅgha by sons of "good family," *gahapati*s (householders), *seṭṭhi*s (merchants), and artisans.

There is much blurring of terminology, overlapping of rites, and alternative classifications in the sources. The interchangeability and variation of rites reflects the great irregularity in actual practice, the tolerant accommodation

[1] MrP 28.7-8 allows *dāna* and *yajña* to Śūdras. BmP 3.12.19 allows them the five *mahāyajña*s. As we saw earlier, ŚP allow *dāna* and the five *yajña*s in the precedent of Paijavana. ŚP 60.3 says that the three Vedas allow Śūdras the *pākayajña*s with use of *svāhā* and *namaḥ*. *Dasyu*s are allowed the *pākayajña*s at ŚP 65.21-22

[2] MkP 28.3-8; MP 17.71; *Anuśāsana Parvan* 217.13-15.

of diversity, the syncretism of Hinduism, or the Indian tendency to muddle, depending on your point of view. As Jan Gonda noted:

> We cannot, on the other hand, expect the system to be perfect, the terminology used to be completely unambiguous and the differences with other ritual obligations, or overlaps and coincidences, to be clearly indicated. For instance, not only the five *mahāyajña*s are prescribed, but also the libations of water offered to gods, sages Fathers. *Bali* offerings are likewise given to various classes of beings. The daily worship or satiation of the Fathers is in later texts called a *śrāddha* and a *bali*. Various views are found of the time and nature of the *pitṛyajña* and the *brahmayajña* (before or after the *vaiśvadeva*). Nor does there in all our sources exist a hard and fast line between the *vaiśvadeva* and the *devayajña*.[3]

This is all true of the SAS. For Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa, the "*pākayajña*s are the five great sacrifices."[4] "*Vaiśvadeva* is *devayajña*," but it is also *pitṛ*-, *bhūta*-, and *mānuṣya-yajña*.[5] *Bali* is *bhūtayajña*[6] but also part of daily *śrāddha* and *pitṛyajña*. *Tarpaṇa* is not separate from *deva*-, *pitṛ*-, *bhūta*- and *mānuṣya-yajña*, or from *śrāddha*. Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa cites Yogi Yājñavalkya, Śātātapa, Manu, Baudhāyana, the *Padma* and *Skanda Purāṇa*s to authorize offering refreshing libations of water with sesame seeds to the *deva*s, *pitṛ*s, *ṛṣis*, and guests, a whole array of beings from a blade of grass to Brahma: Gandharvas, Apsarases, Asuras, Suparṇas, Yakṣas, Nāgas, trees, evil spirits, birds, and creatures of air and water.[7]

The Rituals for Brāhmaṇas Recast

An odd feature of Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa's presentation is that he regularly cites texts from the Gṛhyasūtras, which were originally written with the twice-born in mind, leaving in the references to sacred threads and fires, although he has unmistakably ruled these out for Śūdras. Indeed, many of the rituals he describes were once only for Brahmins, but he simply cites them in a discussion of the rituals for Śūdras, tacitly overlooking their *dvija* character.

Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa rewrites some rituals plugging in *namaḥ* in place of the sacred *praṇava* and making other Śūdra-appropriate substitutions. His description of *tarpaṇa* is a good example to look at as an interesting illustration of reworking a ritual meant originally for *dvijas* that opens it equally to all four *varṇa*s while respecting the social distinctions.

He first recommends the rite in the Purāṇas as the best for Śūdras and women:

> On this topic some say that as there are many views about *tarpaṇa* in the different schools of the Veda as well as a plurality of schools and an unlimited number of local traditions and customs, the best form of *tarpaṇa* for Śūdras is that presented in the Purāṇas in which old

[3] Gonda, *Vedic Ritual*, 414.
[4] SAS 36. At least, he reads Gautama 1.50.65 as meaning this.
[5] SAS 157
[6] SAS 157.
[7] SAS 120-123.

dharmas specifically for women and Śūdras are set forth.[8]

Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa stipulates that Śūdras are to perform rites and observances according to the school (*śākhā*) of the Veda in which they have been instructed by Brahmins, and in default of that, according to the *Vājasa-neyi Saṃhitā*.[9] We can assume, then, that some Śūdras were doing *tarpaṇa* according to the rite of different schools of the Vedas and with many variants of local custom. Thus, some Śūdras had connection to the Vedas, or felt they did, through the inter-mediary of Brahmin priests. This must particularly have been the case in regions where Śūdras were high caste.

Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa then describes *tarpaṇa* in the *Padma Purāṇa*. Earlier, however, he gives the litany for *tarpaṇa* according to Baudhāyana, technically for the twice-born.

> Then, *wearing the sacred thread around the neck*, say "I refresh the *Ṛṣis* beginning with Krṣṇa Dvaipāyana. I refresh all the wives of the *Ṛṣis*. I refresh all the sons of the *Ṛṣis*. I refresh all the grandsons of the *Ṛṣis*. I refresh the hosts of the *Ṛṣis*." This is *tarpaṇa* for the *Ṛṣis*. Wearing the sacred thread over the right shoulder, say "I re-fresh the *pitṛs* who are Soma, the sons of Pitṛ, Yama, the sons of Aṅgiras, the Agniṣvāthas, the Barhiṣads, and the Kavyavads. I refresh all the *pitṛs*. Namaḥ. I refresh all the sons of the *pitṛs*. Namaḥ. I refresh all the grandsons of the *pitṛs*. Namaḥ. I refresh all the companies of *pitṛs*. I refresh my father so-and-so by his *dāsa* name, whose *gotra* was so-and-so, and who has attained the form of Vasu. I refresh my grandfather so-and-so by his *dāsa* name, whose *gotra* was so-and-so, and who has attained the form of Rudra. I refresh my great-grandfather so-and-so by his *dāsa* name, whose *gotra* was so-and-so, and who has attained the form of Āditya. I refresh my mother so-and-so by her *dāsa* name, whose *gotra* was so-and-so, and who has attained the form of Vasu. I refresh my grandmother so-and-so by her *dāsa* name, whose *gotra* was so-and-so, and who has attained the form of Rudrā. I refresh my great-grandmother so-and-so by her *dāsa* name, whose *gotra* was so-and-so, and who has at-tained the form of Ādityā. I refresh my maternal grandfather so-and-so by his *dāsa* name, whose *gotra* was so-and-so, and who has attained the form of Vasu. I refresh my maternal grandfather so-and-so by his *dāsa* name, whose *gotra* was so-and-so, and who has attained the form of Rudra. I refresh my mother's grandfather so-and-so by his *dāsa* name, whose *gotra* was so-and-so, and who has attained the form of Rudra. I refresh my mother's great-grandfather so-and-so by his *dāsa* name, whose *gotra* was so-and-so, and who has attained the form of Āditya. I refresh my grandmother so-and-so by her *dāsa* name, whose *gotra* was so-and-so, and who has attained the form of Vasu. I refresh my mother's grandmother so-and-so by her *dāsa* name, whose *gotra* was so-and-so, and who has attained the form of Rudrā. I refresh my mother's great-grandmother so-and-so by her *dāsa* name, whose *gotra* was so-and-so, and who has attained the form of Ādityā.
>
> Then, after giving *tarpaṇa* to *gurus* and friends because of their special closeness one should offer three liba-tions of water while repeating these verses:
>
> May the gods, divine sages, and human beings
> from Brahma to a blade of grass be refreshed,
> all the *pitṛs*, the maternal grandfather and the rest.
> May this water and sesame be for the *koṭis* of families past,
> living on the seven continents, from the world of Brahma down.

Note that Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa has not bothered to excise the reference to wearing the sacred thread. The Śūdra is to offer the refreshment of *tarpaṇa* to Ṛṣis and gurus, just as a twice-born would, in addition to his ancestors. The *pitara*s of a Śūdra were called Sukālins in the Purāṇas and described as dark in color.[10] Although he is not supposed to have

[8] SAS 121.
[9] See my chapter on the *Vājasaneyi-Samhitā* and Śūdras for a fuller discussion.
[10] BmP 3.10.96-99; VāP 2.11.90; MkP 96.23,36.

*pravara*s,[11] he has a *gotra*. "Dāsa" is suffixed to the name of a Śūdra, just as the name for a Brahmin ends in "sharma," the name of a Kṣatriya in "varma;" and a Vaiśya in "gupta."

What is one to make of this procedure? On the one hand, this may demonstrate the extent to which *sat*-Śūdras were practicing and participating in many rituals not very differently from the upper castes, as long as the Vedic elements were bracketed out. As a text written by and for Brahmins, it was no doubt simply understood that these were to be left out of rites personally performed by Śūdras or administered to them by a priest. On the other, it was part of the process of Brahmanization of the Śūdra. The ritual life of low castes was now to be formalized as much as that of *dvija*s had been. Heretofore, Śūdras had been exempt from much ritual regulation and benignly neglected as long as they kept their distance and did not interfere with their betters. The new *śūdradharma* texts concerned themselves with regulating the ritual life of the majority of the population as never before. To bring them all within the ambit of sacramental practice and, not least, Brahmin livelihood, the shastric rules originally meant for the twice-born were extrapolated to them.

Brāhmaṇas were traditionally sanctified by 40 sacraments: seven *pākayajña*s, seven *haviryajñas*, seven *somaya-jñas*, five *mahāyajña*s, four *vrata*s for the study of the Vedas, and ten *saṁskāra*s.[12] Over time, the *pākayajña*s, *ma-hāyajña*s, *vratas*, and *saṃskāra*s were converted into observances open to Śūdras, while the strictly Vedic rites (*havir*, *soma*, and the *saṃskāra*s of Vedic education) were reserved to *dvijas*.[13] Similarly, the daily observances (*āhnika*s) of *snāna*, *ācamana*, purification with sacred *kuśa* grass, *tarpaṇa*, *vaiśvadeva*, *baliharaṇa*, and *śrāddha* were all rites for the twice-born in the Śrauta- and Gṛhya-sūtras. In the SAS, they are now simply rites Śūdras also do. The SAS and other *śūdradharma* texts are the culmination of this process of turning Vedic ritual into devotional practices and merging them with Āgamic rites and Purāṇic worship.

If a pious Śūdra performed all the rituals prescribed as *nitya* in the SAS, his day from morning to night would be nearly as full of ritual as that of a punctilious Brāhmaṇa. In the SAS, the *pañcamahāyajña*s are to be performed daily with *tarpaṇa*, *pūjā*, *bali*, and *śrāddha*. On top of these are what a Freudian might regard as neurotically de-tailed acts of bathing, purification, personal hygiene, and eating (*bhojana*). This was not only time demanding, but

[11] BmP 2.32.90, 121-22.
[12] Jan Gonda*, Vedic Ritual: The Non-Solemn Rites*, (Leiden: Brill, 1980), 365-6. Gautama, DS 8, 16*ff*.
[13] "In the sphere of religion the tendency is to forbid to the Śūdra the use of the most efficacious formulas and rites on the one hand, and to exhort him to perform most of the daily rites and obligatory sacraments prescribed for the other castes." Ghurye, *Caste, Class and Occupation*, 90.

also confusing. What kind of Śūdra had the motive and means to do all this? Clearly, only the better off and socially aspiring, or the exceptionally pious.

It is very unlikely that even most Brahmins performed them all. If the ideal web of Dharmashastric rules were followed to the letter, it would paralyze life. Thus, we have the escape clause of *āpad*, as Wendy Doniger calls it, as a concession to reality.[14] *Āpaddharma*s were the relaxations of the rules permitted in an emergency. Since much of life is an emergency, every rule had ever ready exceptions, provisos, and loopholes. Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa exploits these to the hilt. In any event, local tradition, not *śāstra*, was far and away the most important basis for deciding what to do.

Even Manu allowed Brahmins in difficult circumstances to engage in trade, money lending, and farming.[15] Not a few even took up the profession of arms.[16] In the days of the Raj, the Tailaṅga Brahmins, from whom the family of Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa may have derived, were mostly engaged in commerce in the Carnatic.[17] Some Brahmins were poor and found it necessary to trade on their ritual purity and prestige, serving at lowly occupations such as cooks or priests for Śūdras and other low caste people, even untouchables. Conversely, at the village level, many "Śūdras" were often the priests of the local cults and devas and the administrators of temples. There was a class divide between funeral priests (Mahābrahmans and Mahābappas), some of whom were untouchable, temple priests (*pūjāri*s), chaplains (*purohita*) serving upper *varṇa*s, and high prestige *acharya*s and paṇḍits like Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa. The services of inferior Brahmin castes—Ojhās (healers and exorcists of *bhut*s and *pret*s), Gaṅgā-putras (administrators of tirthas, wells, and tanks where pilgrims bathed), and Joshis or Bhanreriyas (astrologers and guides)—were much patronized by high and low castes alike.[18]

When we speak of Brahmanical domination, therefore, it best to bear in mind that it was the discursive structure of caste that was dominant, not Brahmins per se. Brahmins were segmented by caste inequalities and differences of sect, custom, and practice (e.g., in marriage and diet.) like everyone else. Even their *varṇa* status was not always unequivocal. The social position of many Brahmins was often as precarious and low as the castes for which they officiated as priests. Most probably had only a smathering of Vedic and high Sanskritic learning, like village priests

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[14] Wendy Doniger, *The Hindus: An Alternative History* (New York: Penguin, 2009), 334-336.
[15] Manu X. 116; Kane (1974), II. pt. 1. 122-134. In his fourteenth century commentary on Parāśara, (*Parāśara-Mādhava* I: 425-426, 435) Mādhava says that trades and crafts including agriculture belong to all castes in the distressful times of the Kaliyuga when a sufficient living could not be made from performing sacrifices, Kaliyuga having come to mean what people actually do now. Brahmins are entitled in particular to practice agriculture, thus sanctioning the facts on the ground and the role Brahmins had long played in the growth of the medieval agrarian kingdoms as farmsteaders.
[16] Kane (1974), II. pt. 1. 123; G.S. Ghurye, *Caste and Race in India* (reprint 2004), 16.
[17] M. A. Sherring, *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, 3 vols. (Cosmos Publications, 1974), II: 175
[18] These are types of Brahmins in Benares as described by Sherring, I: 35-38. See also Bhupen Chaudary, *Indian Caste System: Essence and Reality* (New Delhi: Global Vision, 2001), 74-75.

with their Latin in medieval Europe. The discourses and debates of Brahmin paṇḍits in Vārāṇasī was another world altogether. Brahmins had to adapt and parley their relationship to local caste configurations and changing politico-economic circumstances. They were some of the threads weaving through the social fabric and not above the "caste struggle." The more one studies caste on the ground, the more it becomes apparent that Brahmins and their ideas of caste were extraneous to most peoples' lives. Many Śūdra castes had dealings with Brahmins as the providers of religious services and the bearers of sanctity, blessing, and auspiciousness for the events of live from birth to death. But they were not "dominated" by them or their rules of social purity.

For instance, many Śūdra families employed Brahmins to perform a great variety of rites, "sanskars" and "karamas," as described in colonial ethnographic surveys such as those of H. H. Risley, M. A. Sherring, and R. E. Enthoven.[19] These surveys come 300 years after Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa and their picture of Śūdra-Brahmin relations may be anachronistic, but they show us what they would become and were very likely already coming to be by the sixteenth century. The most common ritual services were astrological fixing of auspicious times for marriage and other occasions, fertility rites, calculating nativity *nakṣatra*s, performing marriage *homa*s, funerals, and *śrāddha*s, and pronouncing prayers during *pūjā* of the Hindu gods.

Looking at the surveys for Bengal, Bihar, and the Deccan, the locales presumably best known to Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa, we see that in the nineteenth century employment of Brahmin priests had become the norm with little but class differences among Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas, and Śūdras. To pick out a few of the many interesting examples, the Chamars, Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa's *carmakāra*s, were Rāmānandī tanners, leather-workers, and shoemakers.[20] There are 62 subcastes of them in Risley.[21] Although at the very bottom of the Hindu social scale because of their unclean occupation and eating of beef and pork, they employed Maithil Brahmins for worship and ceremonial. This is especially surprising in that Maithil Brahmins were known in times past for their traditionalism, ritual orthopraxy, and learning.[22]

Barhis, a carpenter caste, hired Tirhuti (i.e., Maithil) Brahmins for *pūjā* to the great gods, but worshipped Viśvakarman, the god of carpenters, and their local deities with *guru*s of their own caste.[23] The Binds were farmers, fishers, hunters, and earth-workers, all low *varṇa* occupations in Dharmaśāstra, but employed Maithil Brahmins to

[19] Herbert Hope Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, 4 vols. (Calcutta: Bengal Secretariat Press, 1892); Matthew Atmore Sherring, *Hindu Tribes and Castes as Represented in Benares*, 3 vols. (repr. of 1872-1881 ed.; Delhi: Cosmo Publications, 1974); Reginald Edward Enthoven, *Tribes and Castes of Bombay*, 3 vol. (repr. of 1920-22 ed.; Delhi: Cosmo Publications, 1975).
[20] Enthoven's "Chambhars," 1: 260-268.
[21] Risley 175.
[22] *Student's Britannica India* (2000), "Maithil Brahmin."
[23] Risley 66.

preside at the worship of Śiva Bhagavat and Jagadamba, while still worshipping the village gods.[24] Telis, oil pressers, had Rashi Brahmins in the North and *deshi* Brahmins in the Deccan.[25] and some of the higher castes among the great variety of Malis, Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa's *mālākāra*s, "temple garland makers and florists," had Brahmin priests.[26]

The Kamars of Bengal, Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa's *karmakāra*s, and the Kansaras of Gujarat, his *kaṃsāra*s, were braziers, metalworkers, and smiths, clearly low caste occupations, but employed Brahmin priests to perform *pūjā* and *vrata*s.[27] Khatiks or Kasais, Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa's *khaṭīka*s, vegetable sellers and butchers, employed Tirhuti Brahmins in the north and Havik Brahmins in the south, who also made their living as palm and spice gardeners growing peppers, cardamon, and betel nut.[28]

The case of the Mochis of Gujarat underscores many of the ambiguities of caste I have sketched out.[29] They claimed descent from Rajputs, but, like the Chamars of Northern India, were engaged in artisanal occupations as tanners, shoe-makers, armor-makers, saddlers, painters, enamellers, and bricklayers that high caste Hindus regarded as low and polluting. They seem to be Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa's Dhigvanas, who were popularly known as Mocīs. They practiced witchcraft, drank alcohol, and ate meat, but kept all the Hindu fasts and feasts. Some had become Swaminarayans or took up a religious life as *bhagat*s. But for ritual ceremony, they employed Brahmin priests called Mochi Gors who were despised by other Brahmins. Some Cutch Mochis even wore the sacred thread, but without the thread-girding ceremony.

Nilaris (also know as Rangaris and Nilgars) were cloth dyers and similar to Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa's *nīlīkārta*s and *rajaka*s in character and status.[30] Scattered throughout the Bombay Presidency, some were Liṅgāyats and some Smārtas. They worshipped all the Hindu gods and observed all the Hindu holidays. They believed in sorcery and oracles and followed *guru*s of their own caste, but also made use of Deshastha Brahmins.

The Kumbhars of the Deccan, Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa's *kumbhakara*s, made pots, bricks, tiles, and toys.[31] Some officiated as priests in local temples and performed last rites for Śūdras, but they also employed Brahmins. Maratha Kumbhars employed Deshastha Brahmins, Konkani Kumbhars employ Chitpavans, and Kanada Kumbhars Haviks.

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[24] Risley 131-32.
[25] Risley 305-309; Enthoven 3: 371-74.
[26] Risley 60-61; Enthoven 3: 422-426.
[27] Risley 388-392, 419-20.
[28] Risley 477. Khatiks are no different from "middle class Hindus" in diet. Haviks were Kanarese Brahmins. Enthoven 1: 252-54.
[29] Enthoven 3: 56-59.
[30] Enthoven 3: 135-138.
[31] Enthoven 275-284.

Surprisingly, even those classified as untouchables and outcastes in Dharmaśāstra were served by Brahmin priests, albeit of a low repute. The Namasudras (aka Chandals and Nishads) of Bengal, were once *caṇḍāla*s but had risen in status to second class Śūdras. and now made their living as respectable carpenters, artisans, goldsmiths, shopkeepers, and oil dealers.[32] They had Brahmin priests in to officiate at their religious and social occasions. These were popularly known as Barna (*varṇa*) Brahmins, Candala-Brah-mins, or Patita (fallen) Brahmins, a set of Brahmin sub-castes who served Śūdra castes as priests and were not received on equal terms by other priestly castes.[33] They also served some Doms, a Dravidian menial caste in the North, Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa's carrion-removing Ḍombas. [34] Most Doms, however had no Brahmin priests and so had "no authority to mould their religious usages into conformity with a uniform standard," as Risley observed.[35] The Haris, another scavenger caste, engaged for ritual purposes Brahmins of as poor status as themselves.[36] The Maratha Buruds, Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa's Buruḍas, bamboo workers and basket weavers, were *antyaja*s in *śāstra*, but had Deshastha Brahmin priests who were on an equal social footing with other Brahmins.[37]

The Rev. Sherring described these Brahmin-employing Śudras as "middle class." The British in their keenness to promote an English style middle class in India to undermine Brahmin and Rajput pride discovered it, as they thought, in Vaiśyas and Śūdras. Vaiśyas and "upper Sudra tribes" were the class of Indian that exhibited middle class enterprise, vigor, and practical intelligence.

> The Vaisyas and higher Sudras are to India much like the middle class is to India. Add to them the Kayasths, or great Writer Caste, who occupy a social position at the head of the Sudras, or between them and the Vaisyas, and you have a middle class, eager, restless, persevering, self-willed, prosperous, and powerful. They are, on the whole, better educated than the Brahmins, whose intellects, for the most part, only receive a one-sided training.[38]

Sherring recognized what must have been plainly evident in 1872: that Vaiśyas and Śūdras had blended into one class divided now into the *sat* and *asat*, the respectable and the not.

> As a fact, the Vaisyas are now scarcely at all an agricultural people, while the Sudras have stepped into the position which they once occupied in the cultivation of the soil. At the same time, in the social and political revolutions that have at times passed over the country, the two great races of Vaisya and Sudras have become so intimately blended that it is hard to point with precision to any leading distinction between them. All indeed that, for the most part, can be said respecting them, amounts to the statement merely, that certain castes are purer Vaisya or purer Sudra than certain others. The dominant Brahman and Rajpoot tribes have lost all their authority and much of their influence. The Sudra no longer thinks it a sin to read; on the contrary, he conceives it possible to become as wise as the Brahmans and does not hesitate to endeavour to surpass him.[39]

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[32] Risley 183-89.
[33] Risley 70.
[34] Risley 240-249.
[35] Risley 245. In the Deccan, Doms or Dombs were an endogamous subcaste of Mahars. Enthoven 2: 401-405.
[36] Risley 314.
[37] Enthoven 1: 254-260.
[38] Sherring 1: 250.
[39] Sherring 1: 248.

This leveling out of ritual status was already becoming evident in the SAS, where Vaiśya rites are recommended for *sat*-Śūdras. Sherring notes that last rites for Śūdras were the same as those for higher castes: the ten days once only for Brahmins.[40] Many upper caste Śūdras—Bhats, Barhais, Kumbhars, Kāyasthas, Sonars, Kunbis, and Kurmis—claimed Kṣatriya or Brahmin origin and had taken to wearing the sacred thread.[41]

Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa and Vedic Mantras

Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa, like all writers on dharma of the time, absolutely forbids Śūdras to recite Vedic mantras.[42] On the question of Śūdras reading the Purāṇas or reciting Purāṇic mantras, he concludes, as does Kamalākara, that they may listen in the company of a Brahmin.[43] He cites the author of the *Kalpataru*, Lakṣmīdhara, in support. Śūdras are unqualified:

> for Vedic mantras only, not for Purāṇic.
> Since Purāṇic dharma was specifically laid down
> for Śūdras and women and particular mantras were
> produced as a special resource for them,
> they can recite Purāṇic mantras as part of ritual observances. SAS 50

Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa mentions the opinion of some authors that Śūdras may recite the Purāṇic mantras themselves, but seems to settle on the position that the officiating priest should recite these for him.[44]

Although he allows many rites to be performed as long as the Vedic mantras are left out and *namaḥ* substituted,[45] there are some rites, however, that cannot be performed by Śūdras even without the mantras, such as *sandhyā*, which requires the *Gāyatrī*.[46] Without the mantra, the ritual would not be perfect in performance.[47] Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa is strict on this point[48] and recommends, as pointed out above, that instead of *sandhyā*, Śūdras venerate deities in the morning.[49]

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40 Sherring 1: 254.
41 See the entries for each in Enthoven.
42 SAS 49-50, 61-62, 65-67, 69, 74, 104-105, 108,161, 206.
43 SAS 47-48.
44 SAS 42-50.
45 See my section on *nama*.
46 SAS 51.
47 SAS 66.
48 SAS 73-74.
49 SAS 51, 79.

Astonishingly, demonstrating how long religiously based discriminations can last, it has been only in recent years that lower caste Hindus acquired full legal rights to Vedic mantras such as the Gāyatrī.[50] In 1992, the Madras High Court handed down a ruling that the Gāyatrī mantra did not belong only to the upper castes, but to all Hindus, and indeed to all humanity. As the Times of India reported, the judge found that:

> It will be anachronistic for any one to contend that the *mantra* signifies or relates to any particular religion. The Vedas have always been considered to belong to all mankind and are not limited to any particular religion, race, caste or community.[51]

Of course, the judge is himself being anachronistic. The idea that the Vedas were *always* considered to belong to all mankind, religions, and races was, in point of fact, never historically the case, but reflects a modern age of universal human rights. The whole point of Dharmaśāstra was that the Vedas were for upper caste persons only and a jealously guarded privilege. In fact, by Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa's day the Vedas were largely the property of Brahmins alone, and *dvija* meant primarily Brahmin.[52]

Comparison with the *Śūdrakamalākara*

On the issue of Vedic mantra, the SAS is close to the *Śūdrakamalākara,* the best known of the *śūdradharma* texts. In his section on *adhikāra* for *mantra*, Kamalākara upholds the view that the Śūdra is not eligible to study the Vedas, but can listen to the recitation of *smṛti*s and Purāṇas and receive instruction by Brāhmaṇas (SK 13-14, 17).[53] He cites several passages from the Purāṇas to this effect. This agrees more or less with the position Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa reaches.

In his usual way, Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa (42-48) cites a number of opposed and alternative opinions, from the restrictive Gautama (xii.4) to the more permissive parts of the *Kalpataru*, but ends up in this case arguing clearly for the moderate position that Śūdras are entitled to listen to the Purāṇas.[54] He observes that a Śūdra is not qualified to hear the Vedas, study the Vedāṅgas, or hear the Purāṇas recited according to some authorities, but other texts say he may listen occasionally when the twice-born recite. The *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa* also says that a Śūdra may listen in the company of a Brāhmaṇa. Therefore, a Śūdra is allowed to hear, but not recite or study the Purāṇas when he is engaged in serving Brahmins, which in practice must have meant for the *sat*- Śūdra following their religious leadership.

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[50] See SAS 36, 50-51, 61, 67,102, 218-219 for prohibitions of Vedic mantra in general for Śūdras and 72-72 for restriction of the Gāyatrī mantra in particular.
[51] *The Times of India*, 31 August 1992, p. 4.
[52] That "twice-born" often denoted just a Brahmin was already the case in the early centuries. With the decline in the number of "authentic" Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas, the practice of initiation and Vedic education lapsed for everyone except Brahmins. C.E. See Scharfe, *Education in Ancient India*, 101.
[53] Kane (1941), I. 436; II. pt. 1, 155-156.
[54] SAS 46-48.

An examination of statements prohibiting hearing shows that hearing and reciting are prohibited as a principal occupation. The rules about hearing apply to Śūdras as they perform their duties to the twice-born when they sit engaged in listening to the Purāṇas. For this reason, the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa* speaks of the special manner of hearing them.

> While attending to images of the gods or to Brahmins, the Śūdra is fully
> free to listen, and so are the other twice-born. Indeed, duties concerning
> *śruti* and *smṛti* are proclaimed for the Brahmin, great king.
> Therefore, Śūdras should never hear them without a Brahmin.

"Attending to images" means that is the main occupation while listening," because he can listen freely on the occasion of worshipping them, but he cannot do so on his own. That is said in "without a Brahmin the Purāṇas, etc., should never be heard." That means by being a listener while attending to a Brahmin. SAS 47

Kamalākara says that religious rites are to be performed for Śūdras with Paurāṇic mantras. Again, after citing divergent views on their qualification to hear or recite Vedic and Purāṇic mantras, Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa closes with a citation from the *Kalpataru* that allows a Śūdra to read and recite Paurāṇic mantras on his own. Since Paurāṇic dharma was specifically laid down for Śūdras and women and particular mantras were produced as a special resource for them, they may recite Paurāṇic mantras as part of ritual observances. The Purāṇas are the fifth Veda.[55] Are we to infer that this is Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa's final judgment on the matter? He keeps his options open.

The question of whether Śūdras could read the Purāṇas themselves turned particularly on the matter of mantras. All writers of digests and commentaries agreed that the Vedic mantras in them were off-limits—Śūdras should not read or listen to them. The argument went that the Purāṇas were for the benefit of all *varṇa*s and, so, contained Vedic mantras for *dvija*s, but these were not for the fourth *varṇa*. Some *smṛtikāra*s, however, consented to Śūdras reciting the Paurāṇic mantras citing the sanction of the *Padma Purāṇa*. Other, including Kamalākara and Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa (47), held that Paurāṇic mantras had to be recited for a Śūdra by a Brāhmaṇa citing the Bhaviṣya Purāṇa. As Kane shows, the position Kamalākara and Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa take on this matter is, on this particular point, more restrictive than that of some earlier *smṛtikāra*s such as Śrīdatta (1275-1310 CE) and Lakṣmīdhara in the *Kalpataru* (ca. 1125 CE).[56] The *Kalpataru* permitted a Śūdra to read and repeat Paurāṇic mantras himself, although he should not read the Purāṇas, only hear them read by a Brāhmaṇa. All *smṛtikāra*s were united, not surprisingly, in wishing to preserve Brāhmin control of access to the Vedas. It was their cultural capital. That later authors were more conservative than earlier ones Kane interestingly explains as due to the decline of Buddhism in India requiring a change in the strategy of Brahmanization:

> Therefore, the learned brāhmaṇas who wanted to wean sections of the masses (including Śūdras) away from Buddhist teachings composed new Paurāṇika mantras by the thousands and employed them in all religious rites

[55] As Sumantu says in the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa* (SAS 45).
[56] Kane (1962) V. pt. 2, 925-26.

like śrāddhas, vratas &. It was, therefore, that earlier nibandha writers like Śrīdatta were prepared to allow Śūdras to recite Paurāṇika mantras. But when centuries had elapsed after Buddhism had disappeared from India, orthodox writers like Kamalākara (who wrote his *Nirṇayasindu* in 1612 A.D.) showed a stiffer attitude by confining Śūdras merely to listening to Purāṇas read by a brāhmaṇa and by not allowing them even to recite a Paurāṇika mantra.[57]

Namaskāra

The *namaḥ* mantra for the use of Śūdras in place of Vedic mantras seems to have become common already by the Dharmasūtra period, as we see in Gautama X. 66. "The namaskāra mantra is permitted to him." Both Raghunandana and Kamalākara support the view that Purāṇic mantras with *namaḥ* should replace the Vedic mantras and be repeated by a Brāhmaṇa priest.[58] Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa more or less concurs. Śūdras are to substitute *namaḥ* for Vedic mantras when performing the five *mahāyajña*s, *vaiśvadeva*, *agniharaṇa*, *ācamana*, *tarpaṇa*, *baliharaṇa*, *bhojana*, *vṛṣotsarga* and the *śrāddha*s and when welcoming Brahmins who are paying a house-call to perform a ritual.[59] Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa cites Yājñavalkya as his main authority:[60]

> Devoted to his wife, pure, support of men, faithfully performing *śrāddha*,
> he should not omit to offer the five sacrifices with the *namaskāra mantra*. Y 1.121

Another important and repeated citation is from the Varāha Purāṇa:[61]

> A Śūdra being without *mantra*, a Brahmin should be taken for the *mantra*.
> VrP 188.48

These two citations define Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa's basic position. Śūdras are to use *namaḥ* in their daily devotions and a Brahmin priest should be invited to officiate and recite the mantras when Śūdras perform *śrāddha*s and other occasional rites. The mantras should be Purāṇic, but in practice, the distinction between Purāṇic and Vedic mantras may not have been so hard and fast.[62]

Mahāyajñas/Pākayajñas

Judging by the evidence of the *Mahābhārata, smṛti*s,[63] and Purāṇas,[64] the *pañcamahāyajña*s appear to have been the first major, formerly Brāhmaṇa ritual adapted for the sake of Śūdras.[65] Earlier than that, Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa quotes

[57] Ibid., 926.
[58] Kane (1974), II. pt. 1, 198.
[59] SAS
[60] SAS 43, 48, 112, 157, 217.
[61] SAS 49, 50, 62, 218.
[62] Sharma, *Śūdras*, 300: "For in early medieval times some Smārta mantras find their way into the Vedic mantras." Kane, V. pt. 2, 920; IV. 440n984.
[63] Y. 1.121.
[64] SAS 157; SAS 161: "The five rites should be performed by Śūdras without mantras according to the *Vārāha Purāṇa*."
[65] And expands the farthest and are the most amalgamated with general devotional practices. By the 17th century, Kamalākara (55), commenting on *Śāntiparvan* 65.13-21, will liberally allow even *mlecchas*, i.e., Muslim foreigners, to perform *pitṛyajña*.

Manu as allowing *tarpaṇa* to Śūdras.[66] Gautama quotes authorities who allowed Śūdras to do some of the *pākayajña*s.[67] In the *Manusmṛti* (III, 69-71), the five great sacrifices are *brahmayajña*, *pitṛyajña*, *devayajña*, *bhūtayajña*, and *nṛyajña*, respectively, the teaching and study of the Vedas, sacrifice to ancestors, sacrifice to the gods, sacrifices to beings, and reception of guests.

When reworked for Śūdras, with the Vedic sacrifices and mantras removed, the *mahāyajña*s became five devotional acts: Purāṇic worship, worship of the fathers, worship of all the gods (*vaiśvadeva*), and offerings (*bali*) to beings, and honoring guests (*atithi*). For Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa, they are now obligatory (*nitya*) as daily observances for Śūdras. One should perform them in the sequence: *devayajña*, *bhūtayajña* followed by *pitṛyajña*, then *manuṣyayajña*. *Brahmayajña* comes after *tarpaṇa* or *vaiśvadeva*.

Brahmayajña is no longer Vedic recitation, but prayers, mantras, and verses from the Purāṇas and Itihāsas "or any verses, hymns of praise, and the like, clearly permitted to Śūdras in the *Purāṇas*." It is to be done as follows:

> After bathing, he sits down facing east, sips water, and sprinkling himself with water, forms the resolve, "I will perform *brahmayajña*." Seated on *darbha* grass with two blades of *darbha* grass, he takes other blades in his cupped hands, with his lap in *padmāsana*, crossing his hands and feet, or as instructed. He says the *namaskāra mantra* three times or more. When he has said his chosen form of *brahmayajña*, putting aside the *darbha* grass and sprinkling himself with water, let him sip. Moreover, he may perform *brahmayajña* by reciting any verses, hymns of praise, and the like, clearly permitted to Śūdras in the *Purāṇas*.
>
> SAS 113

Note that this version allows the Śūdra worshipper to choose and recite his own prayers, mostly not the case in other authorities. As discussed before, Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa cites conflicting *smṛti*s, some allowing a Śūdra to recite Purāṇic scripture himself and others reserving this to the Brahmin priest, but does not come down indisputably on either side of the issue. One can take it as another example of his straddling where the *sat* or *asat* status would be the decisive factor.

For Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa, Śūdras have a special instruction to perform the minor domestic sacrifices (*pākayajña*s) of cooked food offerings and *homa* oblations of clarified butter (*ājya*) in the domestic fire.[68] The terminology Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa uses for the domestic fire is not clear. His cited sources distinguish between the *laukika* (common) fire and the *śālāgni* (hall) fire.[69] The latter is also called a *vaivāhika* or marriage fire, since a Vedic householder lights it when he marries and sets up house. Śātātapa call it a *vaidika* fire. And that seems to be the point of difference for Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa.

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[66] Manu says, "*Tarpaṇa* is always for all four *varṇa*s; therefore he should perform it for the fathers and gods for self-purification." This, however, is one of the citations Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa attributes to Manu that cannot be found in any of our editions. SAS 114.

[67] Gautama DS, X.65.

[68] SAS 37, 68-9.

[69] SAS 159.

The *śālāgni* or *vaivāhika* fire is where the twice-born do their domestic sacrifices. It is not a consecrated *śrauta* fire. The implication is that Śūdras do their domestic rites in a *laukika* fire. Thus, Śūdras had a domestic, non-Vedic fire nominally different from the domestic fire of the twice-born. But both are doing the same rituals in a domestic fire, only the Śūdra technically without *vaidika* mantras.[70]

A recurring problem is examined: when do Śūdras make offerings of cooked grains such as rice and barley with milk and ghee or uncooked food and can their cooked food be accepted ?[71] The *pākayajña*s are done with cooked food offerings, but some of Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa's authorities regard cooked offerings as inappropriate for Śūdras, in *śrāddha* for instance. He refers to the customary distaste for Śūdras offering anything but raw food in *śrāddha*.

The problem was compounded by the question of the propriety of offering Brahmins cooked food. The offering of cooked and raw foods in ritual is tied to the purity rules for the foods which Brahmins may accept and the persons from whom they may accept food. These purity rules, in turn, represent prevailing local caste rules regarding the acceptance of cooked food from lower castes by higher—who dines with whom, who serves whom—that regulate caste relations. In this way, caste is encoded in the very form of the ritual and is arguably its real content. As Romila Thapar puts it, sacrificial ritual is a "form of social exchange."[72]

The preoccupation of the orthodox Brahmins with the preservation of their purity through social distance provided the upper castes with the forms and concepts with which they regulated their contact with social inferiors, especially unclean aboriginal tribals. The purity rules function as the markers of caste hierarchy. This was the role the Brahmanical ideology of ritual purity had performed since Vedic times. In the SAS, the purity rules are reconstituted in favor of upper caste Śūdras.

Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa cites various sources on accepting food from Śūdras and interprets them in the direction of allowing a Brahmin to take food from a Śūdra when he is a *sat*-Śūdra who keeps *śrāddha* and follows his dharma.[73] He allows the cooked food of a Śūdra who is devoted to his duty to be eaten by a *dvija*, although there are many contradictory strictures about this in the *smṛti*s. Yājñavalkya allowed the twice-born to accept and eat the food of the fireless" i.e., Śūdras.[74]

> He may accept and eat the food of the fireless when there is no emergency. Y 1.160

[70] This view of the matter was already being defended earlier as we see in the *Madanapārijāta* of Viśveśvarabhaṭṭa (c. 1360-1390). In his discussion (231) of the argument that a Śūdra is disqualified from rites performed with offerings in a sacred fire, Viśveśvara says that he is entitled to make them in a domestic fire instead.

[71] SAS 71, 160, 170, 183, 217-218.

[72] *Early India*, 126*f.*

[73] SAS 176, 182, 217-18

[74] SAS 183.

Again, it is a case of Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa citing the more lenient views of Yājñavalkya, who undid or ignored the extreme measures against Śūdras in Manu. In early medieval times, the rules about taking food from Śūdras and having contact with them became stricter.

The Four Āśramas

On the subject of Śūdras and the four stages of life, most *smṛtikāra*s maintain the view that they are eligible only to be a householder.[75] The *Mahābhārata* has contradictory material. Some passages permit the Śūdra only the *āśrama* of householder. Others assure the Śūdra that he acquires the fruit of all the *āśrama*s by fulfilling his *svadharma*. The following denies (MB 12.63.11-14) him only the last, *sannyāsa*:[76]

> If anyone of the three non-Brahmin *varṇas* wish to live according to the *āśramas*
> hear, Pāṇḍava, the laws for the *āśramas*. All the *āśramas*, except for desirelessness,
> are prescribed for the Śūdra who has fulfilled his duty of obedient service,
> completed the task of extending his lineage, has the permission of the king, Lord of the earth.
> and has followed his own dharma and the customs of his country.
> The life of begging is not for him who is following his own true dharma. SAS 52

Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa comments that the Śūdra who is living responsibly is eligible for the three stages of student, householder, and retiree, only "desirelessness" i.e., renunciation, is excluded. This raises the interesting question, what kind of education did Śūdras have as the equivalent of *brahmacarya*?

Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa does not enunciate a clear position, but his basic sentiment seems to be that although Śūdras are not permitted the last *āśrama*, they are not deprived of the knowledge of the renunciates. They have access to *mokṣadharma* in the *smṛti* parts of the *Mahābhārata* and the Purāṇas when heard from the twice-born. This is in line with the view of the *Mīmāṁsā* and *Brahma Sūtra*s, as discussed earlier. Texts from the *Skanda Sūta Samhitā* and *Mahābhārata* are cited to confirm this view.[77]

Saṁskāras

It is difficult to say exactly how many of the *saṁskāra*s Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa approves, since he steps gingerly around the various authorities on the subject.[78] There is much difference of opinion among them about whether Śūdras had

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[75] Kane (1974): II.1.163.
[76] Kane (1974): II.1.163.
[77] SAS 56-57.
[78] SAS 67-71. The number even for the twice-born varies in the sources, 16 being the most favored. Gonda, *Vedic Ritual*, 366.

*saṁskāra*s, and if so, how many.[79] That they could have those of the standard sixteen without the Vedic mantras came to be the most common view (Śaṅkha, Yama). Manu is contradictory. Manu X.126 permits none. Manu II.32 prescribes the naming ceremony (*nāmakaraṇa*). Manu IV.80 allows *vrata*s without *homa* and mantras to Śūdras not working for upper *varṇas*. i.e., *sat*-Śūdras.[80] But then Manu X.127 allows religious Śūdras to perform all religious acts which *dvijāti*s do without Vedic mantras. The *Laghu Viṣṇu* (I.15) allows no *saṁskāra*s. Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa cites the *Brahma Purāṇa* and *Kalpataru* as entitling the Śūdra to the sacrament of marriage.[81] Veda Vyāsa (I.17) allows ten without the Vedic mantras, as does Kamalākara: *garbhādhāna*, *puṁsavana*, *sīmantakaraṇa*, *jātakarma*, *nāmakaraṇa*, *niṣkramaṇa*, *annaprāśana*, *caula*, *karṇavedha*, and *vivāha*.[82]

By Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa's day, the householder *saṁskāra*s dealing with the prenatal, childhood, marriage, and death were largely open to Śūdras, on condition that a Brahmin priest officiated with Purāṇic substitutions for the Vedic mantras. The educational *saṁskāra*s remained off limits. Given that even Manu X. 127 permits Śūdras to perform all religious acts provided they do not use Vedic mantras, Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa was not revolutionary in granting some *saṁskāra*s outright (*vivāha* and *antyeṣṭi*) and others conditionally. He makes a case for *nāmakaraṇa*, *niṣkramaṇa*, *annaprāśana*, and *karṇavedha* by resorting to his kit of arguments—substitution of alternatives, the optional nature of a rite, a special rule or counter-exception, general statements that do not specify *varṇa* and, thus, apply to everyone,[83] and the distinction between *sat*- and *asat*-Śūdras—to wriggle around the restrictions.

Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa's basic working principle is that a counter-exception (*pratiprasava*) can be made for some, i.e., respectable *sat*-Śūdras.[84] As Khiste encapsulated it, "Although there is a prohibition of some rites for Śūdras, in general there is an exception for some, for example, the five great sacrifices, rites for the deceased, the rites of concep-

[79] Kane (1974): II.1. 158 159; 198-9.
[80] According to the *Mitākṣarā* on Yājñavalkya III. 262.
[81] SAS 69. Sharma, *Śūdras*, 299.
[82] Kane (1975) I. 2, 930-931.
[83] For instance, SAS 104-5, allowing *kuśa* grass to Śūdras:

> The demons, seizers of *japa* and *homa*, manifest in incarnate form,
> run away from the man with purifying *kuśa* grass in his hand,
> scattering to the ten directions.

Statements like this are made in general terms. They also apply to Śūdras.

[84] SAS *68-69.* A *pratiprasava* is an exception to an exception. An injunction (*vidhi*) is negated by an *apavāda*, an exception that restricts or sets aside a general rule: Śūdras cannot do this. Then a counter-exception says the general rule is applicable to cases falling under the exception: *sat*-Śūdras can do this.

tion, naming, baby's first steps, first cooked food, and ear-piercing."[85] The implication is that for other *saṁskāra*s, too, the rules are more pliable for *sat*-Śūdras.

Suvira Jaiswal, referring to this summary by Khiste, writes:

> The process of improving the status of the śūdras reached its culmination in such medieval texts obviously meant for the guidance of the śūdras as *Śūdrācāra Śiromaṇi*, written by Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa, who states that although ordinarily the śūdras are not allowed *saṃskāra*s, an exception is made to this general rule (*pratiprasava*) by allowing them the right to perform the *pañcamahāyajña*s, *śrāddha*, *garbhādāna*, *nāmakaraṇa*, *niṣkramaṇa*, *annaprāśana* and *karṇavedha*. It is further added that the *karṇavedha* takes the place of the *yajñopavīta* in the case of śūdras.[86]

She has mistakenly read a reference to *karṇavedha* into the Sanskrit (SAS 79). Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa is not saying that *karṇavedha* takes the place of *yajñopavīta*. The passage in question has nothing to do with it, but is in fact a discussion of whether a garment should be put over the ear in lieu of a sacred thread when excreting.[87] This is ruled out in a typically roundabout way as inapplicable to the Śūdra: since he has no sacred thread, no substitute for it is possible. Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa is uncompromising on points of Brahmanical privilege. Elsewhere, he says that marriage takes the place of initiation in the case of Śūdras or a family tradition of benediction may be substituted.[88]

Substitutes are found for other *saṁskāra*s as well. Although a Śūdra is ineligible for the birth ceremony (*jātakarma*) and parting-of-the-hair (*sīmanta*), at the time of the sacrament, the benedictions (*maṅgalācāra*) current in his family line should be given instead.[89] Although, still accepting the prohibition of *caula* for Śūdras, which Kamalākara will later discard, Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa works around it.[90] The tonsure may be forbidden to Śūdras in general, but *sat*-Śūdras, "good Śūdras" may wear a *śikhā* and be tonsured in the traditional fashion passed down in their family without the Vedic rite. [91] Thus, in a circuitously scholastic way, he authorizes an equivalent to tonsure.

Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa argues that the optionality of some *saṁskāra*s opens them to Śūdras. Commenting on a verse from the *Brahma Purāṇa*, he sets aside the implication that a Śūdra has no other sacraments but marriage by quibbling about the word "simply."

> In the Brahma Purāṇa we also see the following:
>
> The Śūdra has simply the sacrament of marriage always.
>
> By the word "simply" is expressed the denial of the other rites to Śūdras. Similar is the explanation in the Kalpataru:

[85] Khiste, Table of Contents, 50; SAS 68-69.
[86] Suvira Jaiswal, *Caste: Origins, Function, and Dimensions of Change* (New Delhi: Manohar Pub., 1998), 75-76.
[87] I make this correction having seen this passage quoted erroneously in support of the idea that *karṇavedha* takes the place of *yajñopavīta* for Śūdras and explains why many Hindu males proudly undergo an ear-piercing ceremony.
[88] SAS 204,
[89] SAS 71.
[90] SAS 69-70.
[91] SAS 69.

The word "simply" means that the other samskāras are denied.

But it is not because of the term "simply" that mantra is denied. It is because of ignorance only, "because mantra is inapplicable to a Śūdra." So we understand this to mean that the performance of the rites such as naming, ear-piercing, first walk and first solid food are optional. And there is no contradiction with *smṛti* since smṛti achieves its aim in laying down the rites of naming, and so on, as optional.

He rejects the reading made of this word by the *Kalpataru* that it excludes the other *saṁskāra*s and arrives at the conclusion that naming, ear-piercing, first walk, and first solid food are optional for Śūdras, since *smṛti* has ruled them optional and so overrules the interpretation of the *Brahma Purāṇa*. In this less than convincing way, he extends the optionality of these four *saṁskāra*s from the twice-born to Śūdras. Or to be more precise, to *sat*-Śūdras. The good Śūdra overcomes the bar of ignorance by devoted observance of dharma.

Discussing a verse from Manu, Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa deploys another favorite argument—if a specific *varṇa* is not expressly indicated, then the rite is open to Śūdras, too—to argue that Śūdras have the rites of first solid food and first steps because no specific *varṇa* is mentioned.

In the fourth month the ceremony of taking the infant out of the house is done.
In the sixth the ceremony of first rice, and any other dear to the family. M 2.34

Śūdras have the rites of first appearance in public and first solid food, because no specific varṇa is referred to. The word "infant" is used to include Śūdras. The rite of ear-piercing is also for him, since no particular varṇa is cited. He does not have the other rites, as they are done with mantras.

SAS 69

Likewise, Śūdras have the rite of ear-piercing because no particular *varṇa* is specified in the *smṛti*s and the use of the word "infant" includes all without distinction.[92]

Penances

Although the severe corporal punishments for violating the ban on the Vedas were a dead letter, Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa keeps the proportionally harder penances for Śūdras who commit the five great offenses (killing, verbal abuse, etc.).[93] For instance, for offenses against a Brahmin the penance is four times as much as for a Brahmin, three times as much as for a Kṣatriya, and two times as much as for Vaiśya. For "good" Śūdras of *anuloma* birth it is less, and for bad Śūdras of *pratiloma* birth, more. For Śūdra women, the old, young, and sick it is half as much.

Śūdras should have no part in determining penances in an assembly (*pariṣad*). This is in line with Manu *et al*. for whom Śūdras are not eligible to be judges and kings are advised not to appoint them.

The determination of a penance by a Śūdra in council is forbidden in the *Explanation of the Law*:

[92] SAS 69.
[93] SAS 58-60.

> Now a Kṣatriya, Vaiśya, or Śūdra should on no account
> make a determination of penance, in the view of the learned.

In the *Opinions of the Twenty-Four Sages* we read:

> Just as Brahmins should not drink milk in a dog skin,
> like that, speech from a Śūdra's mouth should
> on no account be heard. The words even of an educated Śūdra,
> knowledgeable in the śāstras, should not be heeded,
> like food offerings thrown out for the dogs.
> If a Śūdra in his pride of knowledge speaks to a Brahmin,
> he goes to a terrible hell until the end of creation. SAS 60-61

Brahmin consternation about educated and ambitious Śūdras encroaching on Brahmin prerogative and presuming to practice Dharmaśāstra as advisers in courts and assemblies is palpable in such passages. Because of his lack of education (denied to him by Dharmaśāstra), a Śūdra should not open his mouth in a community assembly, but should be instructed instead in the forms of giving and making vows such as for the *kṛcchra* fasts, exclusive of chanting mantras and fire oblations.

Kamalākara allows a Śūdra to perform vows, fasts, great gift ceremonies (*mahādāna*) and penances (*prāyaścitta*) but without *japa* and *homa*.[94] Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa is in general agreement with this view. Śūdras, due to their lack of education, do penance only in the form of giving and vows such as the *kṛcchra* without *japa* and *homa* performed with Vedic mantras.[95] He approaches penance from the angle of how much is correct for Śūdra men, women, children, and the ill and old proportional to other castes (59-60).

Śrāddha

In the SAS, Śūdras perform *ekoddiṣṭa śrāddha,*[96] *sapiṇḍīkaraṇa*,[97] *pārvaṇa śrāddha*,[98] *ābhyudayika śrāddha*,[99] *vṛddhiśrāddha*,[100] and *nitya* or daily *śrāddha*.[101] *Ekoddiṣṭa* is the ceremony for one individual recently dead. It does not include the *pitara*s and, simplifying out variants, is performed every month for a year. *Sapiṇḍīkaraṇa* is then performed and the deceased becomes a *sapiṇḍa*, i.e., joins the *pitara*s and receives *piṇḍa*s. *Pārvaṇa* is the model of

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[94] Kane (1974): II.1.159.
[95] SAS 61.
[96] SAS 209-12.
[97] SAS 212-17.
[98] SAS 217-19.
[99] SAS 71.
[100] SAS 217.
[101] SAS 170-76.

all *śrāddha*s and was derived from the *piṇḍapitṛyajña* of *śrauta* ritual.[102] It is performed monthly at certain times (*parvan*) such as the new moon day (*amāvāsyā*). *Ābhyudayika* is an occasional (*naimittika*) *śrāddha* of rejoicing, good luck, and prosperity.[103]

Nitya śrāddha is daily *śrāddha* for the *pitara*s, but without *piṇḍa*s.[104] It is not separate in practice from *pitṛyajña*, *vaiśvadeva* and *bali*.

> Daily *śrāddha* and *pitṛyajña* are contained in the rite of *bali* for *pitṛs*. Without daily *śrāddha*, *pitṛyajña* is accomplished also by the verses for giving *bali* to the *pitṛs*.
>
> SAS 169

Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa says that it is observed for a year. After that, it is optional and, if performed, brings prosperity like *śrāddha*s of auspiciousness and rejoicing (*vṛddhi* and *ābhyudayika*).[105]

Śūdras had enjoyed the right to *śrāddha* since at least Yājñavalkya's day.[106] In the SAS, they are to invite Brahmins to perform them, just as do the upper *varṇa*s, but with the substitutions appropriate for Śūdras. A good example is the formula of invitation to perform *sapiṇḍīkaraṇa*:

> *Sapiṇḍana* has the character of both *ekoddiṣṭa* and *pārvaṇa śrāddha*. In this case, after inviting one Brahmin in the place of the deceased for *ekoddiṣṭa* with a gift of betel and other things, at the same time invite Brahmins for *pārvaṇa śrāddha* for the grandfather etc., one Brahmin for each, first performing *vaiśvadeva*. The formula of invitation to be used goes: "Please take a moment, honorable sirs, and favor us by standing in for our grandfather who is a Śūdra of such-and-such *gotra*," and so forth. When the father of a Śūdra is of a twice-born caste, or even when the father is Śūdra and his father and grandfather are of twice-born caste, then the names, Sharma, Varma, and Gupta should be used respectively for Brahmins, Kṣatriyas, and Vaiśyas. When the father, etc., in a family is of illicit birth, the son should be associated with grandfathers, etc., who are born of legitimate marriages, even though the father is impure, because of the relation of progenitor and progeny.
>
> SAS 212

Varṇa distinctions again are observed in the naming of the deceased; but Śūdras have a *gotra* and mixed *varṇa* and illegitimate offspring are included.

Aśauca

Śūdras are also to observe the rules of ritual impurity after a birth or death in the family *aśauca*.[107] Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa discusses at length the many variations in the period of impurity for Śūdras in the sources. The distinction between *sat* and *asat* is salient. A *sat*-Śūdra, generally speaking, has a shorter period of impurity. Baudhāyana, the

[102] Gonda, *Vedic Ritual*, 444.
[103] *Vedic Ritual*, 449.
[104] *Vedic Ritual*, 443.
[105] SAS 172.
[106] Y 1. 121.
[107] SAS 189-205.

Viṣṇusmṛti, Devala, and the *Mārkaṅḍeya Purāṇa* set the period of pollution for Śūdras on a death at one month: Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa, citing Yājñavalkya and Manu sets it at 15 days for *sat*-Śūdras. For Yājñavalkya:

> A Kṣatriya has twelve days, for Vaiśyas fifteen,
> for Śūdras thirty days, and half that for Śūdras living dutifully (*nyāyavartin*). Y 3.22

For Manu:

> Śūdras living dutifully should shave their head once a month,
> follow the rules of purification laid down for Vaiśyas,
> and eat the leftover food of the twice-born. M 5.140

Note that *sat*-Śūdras are equated to Vaiśyas and given their period of impurity of 15 days, undoubtedly reflecting the fact that already by Manu's day Śūdras had supplanted or were indistinguishable from Vaiśyas in some regions and aspired to a *varṇa* respectability commensurate with their achieved social statuses. Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa follows Śātātapa and Aṅgiras in setting the period of impurity for a *sat*-Śūdra who has been slightly degraded by some lapse in dutiful service to *dvija*s, but still observes the *mahāyajña*s and possesses all the virtues of an "absolutely good Śūdra," at twenty days.[108] In the view of others, the alternative of twenty days applies to an ordinary Śūdra in a state of misfortune and ten days to a *sat*-Śūdra in a state of misfortune. Some authorities see it as a matter of local custom.[109] However, in the Kaliyuga, *varṇa* differentials hold: there is only a period of impurity of ten, twelve, fifteen, and one month respectively for the four *varṇa*s.[110] The period of impurity also varies depending on gender, relationship to the dead, *anuloma* and *pratiloma*, and so on.

We see in Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa a move toward equality for all *varṇa*s in matters relating to women and childbirth. Following Pracetas, he sets the period of impurity due to menstruation at three days and the period of impurity from childbirth for women at ten days for all *varṇa*s, including the Śūdra.[111] The *sat*/*asat* distinction applies: it is thirteen days for *asat*-Śūdra. When the *Brahma Purāṇa* says:

> A Brahmin, Kṣatriya, and Vaiśya woman who has delivered is touchable
> after ten days have gone by, a Śūdra woman only after thirteen,

Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa comments that thirteen days is for *asat*-Śūdra women only. In short, in his treatment of *aśauca,* he distinguishes once again between *sat*- and *asat*-Śūdra effectively putting *sat*-Śūdras in the place of the Vaiśya. This is indicative of his overall approach of treating *sat*-Śūdras as the de facto third *varṇa* with whom they had socially assimilated.

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[108] SAS 190-91.
[109] SAS 191.
[110] SAS 192.
[111] SAS 194.

Gotra

Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa discusses the question whether or not a Śūdra has a *gotra*.[112] He first reviews the conflicting sources. Some—the *Matsya Purāṇa* and *Kalpa Sūtra*—grant only the twice-born a *gotra*. Āśvalāyana is cited as saying that a Śūdra has no *gotra* since he has no illustrious forebears (*pravara*) and no sacred fire. But others say:

> that a *gotra* name is commonly used for anyone born in a good family with a well-known founding ancestor. Commonly Śūdras born to a legitimately married Śūdra woman and *dvijāti* father use the *gotra* name for seven generations, until the end of *piṇḍa* offerings, and even in succeeding generations continue to use that *gotra* name. SAS 216

Baudhāyana speaks of the *gotra* of all four *varṇa*s.[113] Some sources say a Śūdra's *gotra* is that of the Brahmin who instructs him;[114] others that all Śūdras are in the *gotra* of Kāśyapa, and those who have no *gotra* are Kāśyapa.[115] This is also Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa's own expressed view on the matter:

> A Śūdra should perform his domestic ritual according to the branch of the Veda in which the Brahmin who instructs him is versed; according to his *gotra* alone should he practice. But if he is not instructed in any particular one, he should follow the Vājasaneyi rite, and the *gotra* shall be Kāśyapa.
> SAS 107

That Śūdras belong to the Kāśyapa *gotra* is common in the law books, not least because of its bearing on inheritance.[116] But why would the Kāśyapa *gotra* be regarded as the default for Śūdras? The question seems not to have been investigated, but several facts point in the direction of an answer. The Kāśyapa *gotra* is one of the most prevalent, being found in Northern, Central and Southern parts of the subcontinent. It is found in all four *varṇa*s and in more castes than any other *gotra*. Kaśyapa was one of the seven Ṛṣis and played a role in the creation of living beings. He was the father of Manu, the progenitor of mankind, and, therefore, Kāśyapa was the first *gotra* of all humanity.[117] In modern times, Ghurye remarks:

> Kasyap [sic] 'gotra' has been used as the last resort by all, hopelessly handicapped in respect of their birth or Brahmanic standards.[118]

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[112] SAS 215.
[113] Another citation not found in our texts of Baudhāyana.
[114] SAS 216. Āpastamba already said this so, for the twice-born of course (*Āp. Śrau. Sūtra* 24.10.17).
[115] SAS 217.
[116] *Madras Law Journal*, edited by V.K. Aiyar, P.R.S. Aiyar, and P.S. Aiyar (Madras, 1899), VIII: 383*ff*.
[117] John Dowson, *A Classical Dictionary of Hindu Mythology and Religion*, 10th ed. (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1961), 153.
[118] G. S. Ghurye, *Two Brahmanical Institutions: Gotra and Charana* (Bombay: Popular Prakashan, 1972): 228.

Untouchability

Two *jāti*s are explicitly declared untouchable (*aśpṛṣya, na sparśa tasya*): the Manguṣṭha (lime maker), and the Karmacaṇḍāla (construction laborer).[119] A number of other *jāti*s, however, are said to be outside (*bāhya*) of *varṇa* or *śūdradharma,* excluded (*hīna*) from *varṇa*, among the lowest *(adhama*), among the *antyaja*s, or even excluded from the *antyaja*s. Such terms are applied by Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa or his sources to the Rajaka (washerman), the Śauṇḍika or Śauṣkala (maker and seller of alcohol), the Carmakāra (shoemaker, leather-worker), the Citrakara (painter), the Kaivarta (fisherman), the Śilīndhra (masseur), and the Chāgalaka (goatherd). Some are have occupations that require them to live outside of town: the Mauḥkali (oil miller) and the Sūtradhāra (performing artist, puppeteer, acrobat).

Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa devotes more discussion to the untouchability occasioned by birth and death pollution and the length of the period of impurity, matters of more general concern to all castes, and, perhaps, of greater interest to observant *sat*-Śūdras.

Kaliyuga

Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa quotes long passages from the *Matsya*, *Kūrma*, and *Liṅga Purāṇa*s painting a lurid picture of the breakdown of caste dharma in the Kaliyuga. [120] They are full of Brahmin apprehension about the loss of social as-

[119] SAS 27-28.
[120] SAS 52-54.

> Thenceforth all this world will fall on terrible times.
> Men will be liars, beaten down, and destitute of righteousness, love, and prosperity;
> the observances of *śruti* and *smṛti* will be slack,
> caste and order demolished.
> Weak-souled and deluded, they will fall into caste confusion.
> Brahmins will be of Śūdra stock,
> and Śūdras, verily, will be the source of mantras.
> Brahmins will come to them seeking the meaning of the Vedas. MP 273.45-47
>
> Most of the rulers will be Śūdras and will oppress Brahmins.
> White-toothed Śūdras, doing ascetic practices, shorn and wearing ochre garment
> will follow the laws of piety at the close of the age.
> Seeing the twice-born, those of little wit will not move from their seats,
> and the Śūdra minions of the ruler will beat the most excellent of Brahmins.
> Although he knows that Śūdras are sitting on their high chairs among the twice-born,
> under the sway of the Kaliyuga, the ruler does not suppress them, chastiser of foes.
> With flowers, ornaments, and other adornments the twice-born
> of little learning, wealth, and power wait upon Śūdras.
> Even when honored, Śūdras will not look on the best twice-born, O prince.
> The twice-born will stand at their door looking for an opportunity to serve;
> the dependents of Śūdras, they crowd round them in their carriages.
> Dwelling in the most awful impiety, they recite Vedic verses. KP 1.28.4-22
>
> In this time, Śūdras acquire mantras by sleeping, seating, and dining with Brahmins.

cendancy and the rise of low castes. In fact, we can see in them a negative image of the contemporary social realities with which Brahmins had to find a *modus vivendi*, a world where some of them are making a living in non-Brahmanical ways as shopkeepers, farmers, and soldiers, while low caste people have become rich and powerful and have taken up religion and education. Brahmins will be of Śūdra birth and Śūdras will presume, horror of horrors, to know and teach the Vedas. In a world turned upside down, Śūdras will everywhere be Brahmins. Brahmins will be harassed and dishonored by them. Brahmins will be dependant on the favor of Śūdras, who now rule the world.

In his comments, it is clear that Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa is concerned by Śūdras not honoring Brahmins, treating them discourteously, pulling social class on them, arrogating the *āśrama* of renunciation and other *dvija* prerogatives. In the Kaliyuga, Śūdras will:

> expound Vedic subjects, put themselves before Brahmins, expound Vedic subjects, put themselves before Brahmins, harass and order them about, follow their way of life while wearing the ochre garb of a renunciate, shaving the head, and going "white-toothed," not rising on seeing a Brahmin, striking them, using high beds, seats, and carriages in front of Brahmins, dishonoring a Brahmin when he is comes to visit, making him wait at the door, having Brahmins serve you, following the dharma of higher castes, performing sacrifices, and following the rules meant for a person sacrificing.
>
> SAS 54

Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa, in accord with common practice, regards some contradictions in the *smṛti*s as a matter of what is forbidden (*kalivarjya*) in the Kaliyuga and appropriate to another, more enlightened age.[121] Shortening of the period of impurity is out of place in the sinful and degraded Kali, when many Śūdras fail in their duty of service and are *śrāddha*-less. As for references in some Purāṇas, *Matsya* 18.26 for instance, to *sat*-Śūdras performing *śrāddha* with cooked offerings, some commentators regard this as also concerned with another *yuga* because of its absolute detestability—Śūdras are enjoined to do *śrāddha* only with uncooked grain in the Kaliyuga and that seems to be Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa's own view.[122]

Kings are mostly Śūdras and harass Brahmins.
Śūdras behave like Brahmins and Brahmins behave like Śūdras.
Kṣatriyaṣ are not kings and Brahmins are dependent on Śūdras,
disrespected by Śūdras, and all are honored by Brahmins.
The dim-witted do not stir from their seats on seeing Brahmins.
Brahmins put a hand over their mouth and humbly speak in the ear of low Śūdras.
Then Śūdras versed in dharma study the Vedas.
Kings of Śūdra birth perform the horse sacrifice.
Therefore, longevity, strength, and beauty in the Kaliyuga diminish.
In a short time, men attain completion. LP

[121] On *kalivarjya*, see Kane, HDS III, 885*ff.*
[122] SAS 218.

9

Miscellaneous Topics

Śūdras and the Pañcāyatana Deities

Gaṇapati was the most fitting deity to introduce a handbook on the dharma of Śūdras. He was preeminently the god of success achieved through obedience to Dharma, above all, for Śūdras whose well-being in this world and the next depended on dutiful service to their betters, their predominant dharmic duty in the Brahmanical order, a point Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa reiterates again and again. The welfare and salvation of Śūdras depended on their submission to the socio-cosmic order of hierarchies and exclusions of Dharma. Gaṇapati was the guardian of this order, the keeper of the gate of heaven and the auspicious operation of Dharma, placing and removing obstacles as merited by fidelity to *svadharma*. That is why he adorns the lintels of temples and the benedictory verses of treatises on Dharma.

Gaṇeśa the auspicious, god of *bhukti*, prosperity and happiness, god of obstacles and their remover, Ga- ṇapati, Lord of Śiva's bands, begins to appear in his familiar iconographic form in the 4th and 5th centuries when he becomes a major deity in the pantheon. His origins are obscure and theories about them inconclusive. Was he a primitive tribal god, a Vināyaka demon, a Dravidian totem? As A. Getty remarks, Gaṇeśa may not have figured among the Vedic deities because he was a village god worshipped by the lower classes.

Others have noted Gaṇeśa's low caste character. To Alfred Foucher, he was a "jungle genius."[1] Robert Brown speaks of the notion of him as the god of Everyman.[2] A verse ascribed to Manu makes Gaṇeśa the god of the fourth *varṇa*.

> Śambhu is the god of the Brahmins, Mādhava of the Kṣatriyas,
> Brahmā of the Vaiśyas, and Gaṇanāyaka of the Śūdras.[3]

This verse is not in the standard editions. Said to be from an older version of Manu, it may be pseudepigraphic.[4] If authentic, it suggests that in the time of Manu, Gaṇapati was considered the god of the low castes.

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[1] Foucher, "Introduction," in Alice Getty, *Gaṇeśa*, *A Monograph on the Elephant-Faced God*, sec. ed. 1971 (Munshiram Manoharlal: New Delhi, 1936) xv-xxiii.
[2] Brown, "Introduction," in *Ganesh: Studies of an Asian God*, (SUNY Press: Albany, 1991) 9.
[3] *viprānām daivatam śambhuḥ ksatriyāṇām tu mādhavah* । *vaiśyāṇām tu bhaved brahmā śūdrāṇām gaṇanāyakaḥ* ॥
[4] Monier Monier-Williams, *Brahmanism and Hinduism* (London: J. Murray, 1887), 221n; E. W. Hopkins regards the verse as a modern forgery. *The Religions of India* (New Delhi: 1885) second edition, 1970, 487.

What is clear is that Gaṇeśa always had popular associations, singularly fitting him to be the god of Śū-dras and lower castes. This popularity have continued until today and the modern Ganesh, whose festival is celebrated with raucous festivities and special enthusiasm by poorer Indians: loud booming music, incessant fire-crackers, and clouds of vermilion *sindoor*, often to the disdain of higher class persons.

The popularity of Gaṇeśa was boosted by political calculation in Maharashtra, where he is especially beloved. The nationalist reformer Bal Gangadhar Tilak, promoted the annual Ganesh festival as a populist bridge of solidarity between Brahmins and non-Brahmins to rally patriotic resistance to colonial rule. He took the private family celebrations out into the streets as a public event with images large and small installed in street corner pavilions, giving it a "*sarvajanik*" flavor.

Durgā *pūjā* is especially celebrated in the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa*, a favorite it seems of late digest writers Hemādri, Raghunandana, Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa, and Kamalākara. Vaiśyas, "devout" (*bhaktiyukta*) Śūdras, and even Mlecchas were admitted to her worship.[5] Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa, as an apparently devout Vaiṣṇava, is primarily concerned with Viṣṇu *pūjā*, but the other four *pañcāyatana* deities are given their due. Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa quotes the *Devī Purāṇa*, another primary source for *Durgotsava*, on the permitted flowers and offerings for Devī.

> Do not offer to Devī unblown buds.
> Exclude the heat-ripened and the out-of -season.
>
> One makes offerings to her:
>
> with *bakula*, coral tree, jasmine flowers, *śirīṣa* blooms,
> oleander flowers, rosewood, and *aparājita*. SAS 154

He quotes the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa* on the worship of Durgā:

> The man who always worships Durgā and bows with love;
> he is a yogi; he is wise and holy; he holds liberation in his hand. SAS 131

The little section on flowers (151-154) is one of the more delightful in the SAS. In rounding up from the sources the prescribed and prohibited offerings for each deity, Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa creates a botanical garden of Indian flora. The Sanskrit names of some are more easily identifiable with present-day plants than others.

Deity *pūjā* is a subject that Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa goes into in opulent detail (128-140). He describes the forms and restrictions Śūdras should observe when worshipping *pīṭha*s (129), the five *pañcāyatana* deities (Viṣṇu, Śiva, Ganeśa, Sūrya, and Devī, 130-132)—*śālagrāma* stones (133-134), and Śiva *liṅga*s (132-134, 149-151). Vaiṣṇava cult receives special attention, but particular aspects of the worship of the other four deities are noted. Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa com-

[5] An unnumbered verse from the BhP is quoted in Banerji, *A Brief History of Dharmaśāstra*, pp. 176, 246-47.

mends initiation for Śūdras with Vaiṣṇava mantras and initiation in Pañcarātra (72-73) as authorized by the Purāṇas.[6] Śūdras are entitled to initiation with Śakti and Vināyaka mantras (73) and *pūjā* to ancient, traditional *liṅga*s (75-77). They can bath the images of Viṣṇu and Śiva, but must keep their distance and not touch them (138-140).[7]

It would be difficult to underestimate the role of theistic cult in absorbing lower castes into Brahmanism. Whatever may be its personal psychological and spiritual benefits, popular devotion to Viṣṇu, Śiva. Ganeśa, and Devī propagated a socially regulating religious practice among Śūdras while preserving the Vedic privilege of the upper *varṇa*s. The core Vedic disqualification of Śūdras could be relaxed to a degree, while Vaiṣṇava initiation and *devapūjā* were generously and inclusively expanded for everyone. This goes far to explain the meticulous attention given to promoting *devapūjā* and its blending with the *pañcamahāyajña*s and other daily domestic rites in *navya smṛti*, as deity cult assumes ever greater weight in response to the Bhakti movements. Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa was, after all, a contemporary of Chaitanya.

Later *smṛtikāra*s all benevolently declared the eligibility of Śūdras for *devapūjā*. They are encouraged to practice the mainstream cults of Śiva, Durgā, Viṣṇu, Sūrya, and Ganeśa, the cults discussed as appropriate for them in the SAS as well. The SK has two chapters on *devapūjā* and the SAS has many pages (128-154) on the procedure and offerings for *pūjā*: flowers, clothing, scents, incense, lamps, food offerings (*nai-vedya*), circumambulation (*pradakṣinā*), bowing (*praṇāma*), disposal of garlands (*nirmālya*).[8] To sum up, what I think we can see in *nibandha*s like the SAS and the SK is the emergence of modern popular Hinduism through the fusion of Vedism with Āgama, yoga, *pañcāyatana* deity cult, and Tantra.[9]

Varṇasaṅkara, Dharmaśāstra's Curious Anthropology

In the first section of the SAS (3-32), Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa begins with the origins of the Śūdra *varṇa*. He then sorts through a mixed bag of confusions thrown up for *varṇasaṅkara* theory by questions of illegitimacy; adoption; the extraordinary *varṇa* status (*na varṇatva*) of Mūrdhāvasiktas, Rathakāras, Vrātyas (unbrāh-maṇized or fallen Āryas),

[6] The Pāñcarātras provided the injunction "missing" in Jaimini and Śabara authorizing initiation of the Śūdra. Vedāntadeśika (1269-1370), the pupil of Yāmunācarya, cites a *vidhi* to that effect in his commentary on *Bhagavadgita* 18.44: *hemānte śūdram eva ca* [*dikṣayet*], "…and one should initiate a Śūdra in the winter." Pollock, "Deep Orientalism?," p. 126n79.

[7] In his discussion of entitlement for *devapūjā*, Kamalākara considers the worship of Viṣṇu and other deities by Śūdras. On the authority of the Purāṇas, Kamalākara also qualifies Śūdras to learn and recite the mantras of Viṣṇu in Pañcarātra texts, as well as those of Śiva, Sūrya, Śakti, and Vināyaka.

[8] Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa describes in great detail many of the sixteen or eighteen (enumerations and combinations vary) *upacāra*s, the forms of worship and offerings made to a divinity: *āvāhana*, *āsanapādya*, *arghya*, *ācamana*, *snāna*, *vastra*, *yajñopavīta*, *gandha*, *puṣpa*, *dhūpa*, *dīpa*, *bhūṣana*, *tāmbūla*, *naivedya*, *namaskāra*, *pradakṣinā*, and *visarjana*.

[9] Possibly in the *nyāsa* of deities on different parts of the body when applying sectarian marks (*ūrdhvapuṇḍra*) as a kind of substitute for *sandhyā* (SAS 111-112).

and Kāyasthas; the weight of parental *varṇa*, maternal *jāti*, and inherited character in determining the *varṇa* of legendary sages; and, conflicts in the sources on the mixed origins of some *jāti*s, e.g., Sūtas and Vaidehas.

Next, in excerpts largely from Manu and the *Jātiviveka*, Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa runs down the many and varied mixed Śūdra *jātis* and their dharmas, i.e., their characteristic ways of life (*vṛtti*). In the process, he gives us evocative bits of social history, snapshots of the world of labor and working class life in the prospering economy of 16th century India. The following is a list of the many occupations and livelihoods Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa mentions.

Indigo & madder maker, dyer, silk merchant, fabric printer, clothes maker, tailor, shoemaker, hatter, launderer, washerman, farmer, sheep- and goat-herd, cowherd, butcher, tanner, dog-breeder, veterinarian, oil-miller, sugarcane miller, sesame miller, lime-maker, salt maker, tool maker, coppersmith, metal worker, saddler, camel driver, weapons dealer, archer, martial artist, arrow maker, prison guard, jailor, wrestler, boxer, athlete, professional soldier, wild animal hunter, snake catcher, insect catcher, dog keeper, waste collector, mahout, horseman, groom, fisherman, ferryman, boatman, cotton and muslin weaver, hemp weaver, basketmaker, bamboo worker, furniture maker, potter, laborer, plasterer, whitewasher, painter, bricklayer, mason, carpenter, blacksmith, armor maker, cook, baker, wine maker, alcohol vendor, betel and pan seller, perfumier, sandal seller, courier, gardener, florist, garland maker, jeweler, bead maker, barber, beautician, masseur, physician, harem and brothel keeper, expert in *kāmasūtra*, porter, servant, butler, scribe, accountant, clerk, goods carrier, graphic artist, actor, dancer, musician, singer, bard, juggler, acrobat, theatre director, performing artist, mime, herald, bell ringer, storyteller, puppeteer, mime, newsmonger, and professional worshippers of Śiva and Viṣṇu.

As a glance at this list shows, the types of work prescribed/described in the SAS make up virtually the entire productive labor of any thriving Indian economy, including many of what we would now regard as lucrative skilled trades and professions in medicine, business, the performing arts, entertainment, athletics, commerce, trade, education, manufacturing, security, and the military.

In actuality, Śūdras were not limited to menial service, as might seem to be implied by the injunction that the *svadharma* of Śūdras is *dvijaśuśrūṣā*. Many arts, crafts, manufactures, and professions were taken up by low caste people and came to be recognized and permitted, if grudgingly, in Dharmaśāstra. The lives of Śūdras, far from the dull oppressive drudgery of the usual picture of caste, on the contrary, sound much more interesting and varied, certainly more productive, and probably more satisfying and pleasant, than those of the upper *varṇa*s may often have been. They were in fact less subject to restrictive and onerous dharma rules and ritual observances than the upper *varṇa*s, and in some respects were freer in their private lives. Already impure, they were allowed many indulgences such as drinking alcohol and eating meat denied to more respectable people. Many Śūdras attained wealth, social standing, and political power. Indeed, in some regions of the country—Maharashtra, Tamil Nadu, Punjab, and Bengal—Śūdra castes became the dominant and most successful upper classes.

In principle, Śūdras were not to exercise any of the modes of making a living reserved to Brahmins and Kṣatriyas, i.e., in religion, education, government, and warfare. In actual social practice, however, such a restriction was mostly a dead letter, or rather immaterial as far as the lives of most South Asians were concerned, and so constituted a prob-

lem for Dharmaśāstra, which enshrined a very exigent view of the place and duty of the fourth *varṇa*. The social and political rise of Śūdras, and the always alarming spectacle of Śūdra kings and priests, was taken in the Purāṇas, and underscored in the Dharmaśāstras, as the one of the signs of degradation in the Kaliyuga.

Dharmaśāstra has its own remarkable theory of caste: *varṇasaṅkara*, as first laid out in the law books of Gautama, Baudhāyana, Vasiṣṭha, Viṣṇu, Manu, Yājñavalkya, and Kauṭilya. *Varṇasaṅkara* theory is simplicity itself: it explains all castes as products of the interbreeding of the *varṇa*s. It generates and includes them all within the *cātur-varṇya* system with a minimal conceptual toolbox: *varṇa*, *jāti*, *anuloma*, *pratiloma*, and *karma*. *Anuloma* is an hypergamous union with a woman of a lower *varṇa* and *pratiloma* an hypogamous union with a woman of a higher *varṇa*. Both are bad, but the latter is far more degrading and especially forbidden, perhaps due to their possible matrilineal origin.[10] All *jātis* are produced by the various *anuloma* and *pratiloma* conjugations of the *varṇa*s, and then by the reconjugation of these mixed *varṇa*s. These combinatorial rules generate six primary *anuloma*s and six primary *pratiloma*s. Further mixing of these mixed castes generates mixed castes to the second degree (*saṅkarasaṅkara*):

> Further sub-castes are said to arise from the unions of the anulomas and pratilomas with the four *varṇa*s and of the male of one *anuloma* and the female of another, from the union of *pratiloma*s among themselves and from the union of a male or female of an *anuloma* caste and male or female of a *pratiloma* caste.[11]

The number, names, and derivations of the secondary mixed castes vary as authors grapple with untidy biocultural complexities. Indeed, even the primary *anuloma* and *pratiloma* combinations in the Dharma-śāstras differ. No two schemes are identical. More precisely, the variation in the early Dharmasūtras suggests that they may have reflected local population differences. Yājñavalkya and Kauṭilya, however, more uniformly followed Manu's distribution of caste names for the primary castes.[12]

> Theoretically, the castes were sub-divisions of the four *varṇas* or orders, the result of miscegenation, but in fact they had an entirely different origin and were much more organic and spontaneous in their growth.[13]

The result was a *śruti*-sanctioned idealization varying from author to author and region to region whose connection to actual *jāti*s from the point of view of an accurate descriptive anthropology was highly abstract. It provided the language and concepts with which people of Brahmanized culture spoke about their social relations, but its role in the regulation of social life is debatable.

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[10] V.N. Jha, "Varṇasaṅkara in the Dharma Sūtras: Theory and Practice," *JESHO* vol. 13, no. 3, 275-276.
[11] Kane, HD, vol. II, pt. 1, 57.
[12] For a comparison of the differing schemes of mixed castes of the *dharmasūtrakāra*s, see Ludo Rocher, "Notes on Mixed Castes in Classical India," *Adyar Library Bulletin*, vols. XLIV-XLV (Madras, 1980-81), 132-146.
[13] Jha, 287.

As B. R. Ambedkar pointed out long ago, the treatment of *varṇasaṅkara* mixed castes by Manu and other *smṛtikāras* was already highly unsatisfactory in its own day.[14] By Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa's time, it is conspicuously inadequate to the actual complexity and diversity of castes on the ground. The categories and terminology he has inherited are obsolete, if ever valid. Many of the castes Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa names are nothing but names to us—Āyogavas, Dhigvanas, Ugras, Pukkasas, and Svapākas—and appear to be theoretical ciphers whose original reference is lost. Most likely, no one but Brahmins ever used the names of his occupational *jātis*—Sūpakāras, Rajakas, Pacakas, Vatsapālakas, Śayyāpālas, Carmakāras, Kīnāśas, Kumbhakāras, etc.—for social groups, but his general types of occupation (potters, smiths, gardeners etc.) were found under an immense diversity of names throughout the subcontinent. By his day, through shifts in occupation, Kumbhars, Kamars, and Malis were no longer necessarily making pots, smithing, or gardening, although Potter, Smith, and Gardener had not become surnames.

Cāturvarṇya is an abstract and rationalizing concept into which many of the Śūdra *jātis* were only very arbitrarily fitted. All non-Aryan and even many Aryan peoples are seen as products of degeneration. The inadequacy is underlined when we observe the divergences among *smṛtikāras* in the number, names, classification, and character of the mixed castes. The variability in Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa's predecessors—Manu, Yājñavalkya, Gautama, Baudhāyana, *Sūtasamhitā*, and the *Mahābhārata*—is considerable. Different parentages are offered for many mixed caste such as, for example, the Sūta, Vaideha, Māhiṣya, Ambaṣṭha, Pukkasa, Ugra, and Āyogava, indicating the synthetic nature of the whole scheme or/and the historical lability of caste.

These mixed caste names are also striking in their heterogeneity, derived from tribes and ethnicities, occupations, trades, professions, and forms of labor and manufacture, which presumably were often hereditary in families and endogamous social groups and so could have the appearance of a fixed and divinely instituted taxonomy.[15] Ethnicities and means of making a living are not clearly distinguished. Is Ambara, for instance, the name of a people or a trade, viz., weaver? Is Vaideha derived from the Videha people who found their caste niche as cloth sellers? Caste grew by absorbing such tribes and ethnic peoples into a subordinate position within its hierarchy. Other caste names such as Nīlīkartā, Śayyāpāla, Chāgalaka, Mālā-kāra, Vatsapālaka, Sūtradhāra, Rajaka, Sūpakāra, and Nāpita are obviously occupations. Others names, such as "Durlabha," seem entirely made-up, or perhaps a colloquialism of some

[14] B.R. Ambedkar, *Who were the Shudras?* Bombay, 1946.

[15] Nirmala Kulkarni, a Maharashtrian Deshastha Brahmin, detects some Maharashtrian surnames and tribal designations among them. Other words and customs in the SAS have a Deccani flavor. The *Jātiviveka,* from which Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa copiously cites, may have a particular connection with this region. John Wilson described the *Jātiviveka* as a work of authority in the West of India and among Maratha Brahmins. *Indian Caste*, (New Delhi: Deep Publications, 1976), vol. I, 18,64. According to Kane, Dalapati in his *Nṛsiṁhaprasāda*, another text from the Deccan with southern customs composed between 1490-1512 CE, also quoted from it. HD, I. sec. 99 and p. 548. Kamalākara does so as well, CC VII, 234.

kind. "Kuruvinda" is the name of kind of barley, which conceivably came to be the idiom for those growing or selling it. A *ḍiṇḍima* is a drum played, one supposes, by people making a living by performing with it, as we still see in Indian streets today, and so called *Ḍiṇḍimas*. We don't really know. This ambiguity of caste names really began with the word "Śūdra" itself, which may have been the name of a subjugated people in Vedic times and later became the name of the *varṇa* of service and labor.

What seems to have happened was that certain ethnic groups and communities took up or were forced into particular ways of making a living at the margins and bottom of caste regulated societies, which became hereditary and identified with them. Other peoples who later practiced these livelihoods would be regarded as the same caste. This would be something like seeing your immigrant Roman Catholic Salvadoran gardener in Los Angeles as a caste. All these variables of ethnicity and livelihood were systematically packed together and formalized in *varṇasaṅkara* theory as stable, coherent dharmas, which they certainly were not, at least from the perspective of the *longue durée*. Dharmaśāstrīs looked out over the social landscape and drew up this tidy sociological map that imposes a stable identity on the chaotically diverse demographics of the subcontinent, but which more or less reflected from the point of view of Brahmanical orthodoxy the short-term realities of caste, namely, class, hereditary livelihood, and endogamy. Ethnic groups and ways of making a living had been turning into castes since the post-Vedic age, yielding the multiplying *jātis* of medieval times. Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa has to fit the confusing proliferation of castes in his own day into the antiquated terminology of the Dharmasūtras.

Varṇsaṅkara is a "degenerative" theory of how lower castes are engendered by the debasing miscegenation of the four pure *varṇa*s. It is one of the forms of legitimation for social orders based on the purity and nobility of blood, in the Indian case explicated and justified with the ultra-sophisticated and totalizing concept of karma. As an account of how real *jātis* originated, it promptly breaks down under any searching scrutiny.

The Andhras, Ābhīras, Ambaṣṭhas, Māgadhas, Niṣādas, and Vaidehakas, far from being like other unlocatable designations were real, historically documented peoples inhabiting identifiable regions of South Asia.[16] But Manu *et al.* have reduced them to the impure products of *varṇa* mixture. Similarly, Manu describes all foreign peoples—Yavanas (i.e., at this time, Muslims), Kirātas, Śakas, and even the Draviḍas of the south—as Kṣatriyas who have degenerated into Śūdras by abandoning Vedic sacrifice and the services of Brāhmaṇas. It is difficult to resist the

[16] Jha, 285-287.

conclusion that *varṇasaṅkara* fails through its brahmanocentricity as an explanation of how such castes came into existence .[17] The fairest assessment may be V. N. Jha's:

> The *Dharma Sūtras* represent the orthodox and ideal point of view and the *varṇasaṅkara* theory provides an example of the brāhmaṇas' capacity to create categories and carry things to their logical conclusion. The theory flourished on congenial soil. It helped to further the accommodation of the exterior groups into the Aryan order of society, promoted the formation of new castes and was adopted and expanded by future law-givers, Manu himself enumerating 61 mixed castes, and the number rising to more than a hundred later on.[18]

The *Sūta Samhitā* adds sixty-three more mixed castes to the 40 or so of Manu, Yajñavalkya, Uśanas, Baudhāyana, and Vasiṣṭha. Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa mentions about ninety.

Varṇas in the Kaliyuga

Medieval writers were much concerned, as Kane points out, with the question whether the Kṣatriya and Vaiśya *varṇa*s existed in the Kaliyuga. Their destruction and disappearance is a recurring theme in many Purāṇas.[19] The *Viṣṇu* (IV, 23.4-5), *Matsya* (272.18-19), and *Bhāgavata* (XII.24.44) *Purāṇas* tell how power-hungry Mahāpadma Nanda, born of a Śūdra woman, would destroy Kṣatriyas like Paraśurāma and Śūdras would thereafter be kings. In a prophetic frame, the Kaliyuga was depicted as a degenerate cosmic cycle when *varṇāśramadharma* breaks down, the hallmark of which was the total extinction of Kṣatriyas. In some accounts, Vaiśyas likewise disappear and only two *varṇa*s are left: Brahmins and Śūdras. In this dark age, there are no true Kṣatriyas and Śūdras would rule. In the *Matsya* and *Brahma Purāṇas*, there will be only one *varṇa* in the Kaliyuga, the Śūdra, everyone leveled down to equality.[20]

On the basis of these Purāṇic scriptures, similar ideas gained currency among some neo-*smṛtikāra*s as well. Bengali authors particularly espoused the notion of only two existing castes, Brāhmaṇa and Śūdra, reflecting as it did changes in Bengali society with the social absence of Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas and the rise of new professional castes

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[17] B. R. Ambedkar repudiated the Dharmashastric concept of caste as a racialist and "bastardizing" ideological construct demeaning whole groups of peoples, cultures, and communities as debased and inferior at birth.[17] In *Who were the Shudras?*, he advanced the notion that Śūdras were originally Aryan Kṣatriyas who were defeated in their struggle with the Brahmins. Deprived of the sacred thread, they were degraded below Vaiśyas. This is not far from Manu's "fallen Kṣatriya" theory of the origins of foreigners (*mleccha*s) or from Kosambi and Sharma's of the formation of the Śūdra *varṇa* through conquest and internal subjugation. Ambedkar's rejection of an Aryan invasion or race places his views, not to put too fine a point on it, somewhere in between Asko Parpola and the Hindutvas.

[18] Jha, 287.

[19] See Kane 1974 II.1. 380-82 for primary sources.

[20] MP 144.5. BrP 229.52. As there was only one blessed *varṇa* of the good in the golden age of the Kṛtayuga, so there will only be one degraded *varṇa*, namely the Śūdra, in the black age of the Kaliyuga.

such as the Kāyasthas.[21] Raghunandana, quoting Manu X. 43, states in his *Śuddhitattva* that the Kṣatriyas no longer existed and Mahānandi and the Kṣatriyas of his day were really Śūdras.[22]

Among the paṇḍits of Benares, Kamalākara quotes a dictum from an unnamed Purāṇa that declares only the Brahmin and Śūdra *varṇa*s remain in the Kaliyuga.

युगे युगे स्थिताः सर्वे कलावाद्यन्तयोः स्थितिः ।

All [four *varṇa*s] exist in very age, but in the Kali, only the first and last exist.

But he does so only to refute it.[23]

> In another Purāṇa, it is said that Brahmins, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras are the four *varṇa*s, the first three of which are dvijas. All these exist in very age but in the Kali age only the first and last remain." How then can you speak of subcastes born of mixture with dvijas? The answer is: this doubt is not correct, for Viṣṇu says that in the Kali age some remain as seed and the Matsya Purāṇa says that those Brahmins, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras who remain as seed will be mingle with them at the beginning of then Kṛta yuga. From these two authorities our respected father hold the opinion that there are Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas in the Kali age though their appearance is concealed and their karma or mode of life is defiled.[24]

Similarly, Nāgojī Bhaṭṭa, great grandson of Bhaṭṭojī (1670-1750) believed that Hindu kings who claimed Kṣatriya lineage were *vrātyas*, fallen through non-observance of Vedic rites, *upanayana* in particular, and were in need of Brahmanical rehabilitation to recover their lost *kṣatriyatva*, as had been the case with Śivājī.[25] Lost kṣatriyahood was a politically useful idea for Brahmins and claimants to power.

In point of fact, the view that only two castes exist in the Kaliyuga seems to have been an extreme; most *smṛtikāra*s—Parāśara, Vijñāneśvara, Hemādri, Vācaspati Miśra—assume there are still four *varṇa*s and work out their privileges and duties. "Bogus" *smṛti* texts asserting that there are only two castes in the Kali age float untraceably about in Bengali *śāstra*s of the late medieval, early modern period.[26] What Manu 10. 43 and Kamalākara were asserting was not the total extirpation of Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas, but that they had lost their *kṣatriyatva* and *vaiśyatva* through failure to keep *svadharma* and non-observance of sacred rites. Although they are degraded in karma, their seed lies latent in the Kaliyuga and will sprout up again. Traditional claims by many Śūdra castes to a lost Ksatriya or Brahmin origin dovetailed with this notion and were abetted by Brahmins for their own strategic interests.

As Manu (9.301-2) and his commentator Medhātithi explain, the degradation of the Kaliyuga is not merely cyclic, but recurs whenever kings misrule and allow the confusion of castes. This is evidently the fear at work in these texts,

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[21] See N.K. Dutt*, Origins and Growth of Caste in India*, vol. II, 82-113.
[22] *Śuddhitattva*, ed. Pandit Jivananda, 268, quoted in Kane 1941, II. I. 381.
[23]Dutt, 82 n.; Kane, 381.
[24] Quoted in C. V. Vaidya, *History of Medieval Hindu India* (New Delhi: Cosmo Publications, 1979), II. 315.
[25] In his *Vrātyaprāyascittanirṇaya*. See K.V. Rangaswami Aiyangar, *Rājadharma*, Adyar Library Series 27 (Adyar, 1941): 196.
[26] N.K. Dutt, *Origin and Growth of Caste in India*, Vol. II, *Castes in Bengal*, Calcutta: 1965, 82*ff.*

anxieties about caste and class disorder, the socio-economic rise of lower *jātis*, the spectacle of Śūdras rulers gaining political power, and the threat to the position of Brahmins.[27] In the era of Muslim conquest there were, no doubt, real reasons for Brahmin intellectuals to worry about the disappearance of Kṣatriyas as the defenders of dharma and Brahmanism. As N. K. Dutt remarks,

> It was not till the Muslim conquest of the country when the function of ruling passed away from the hands of Hindu royal families that any question could arise about the extinction of the Kṣatriya race.[28]

Concern about the mixing and confusion of caste dharmas is Pilājī's reason, as stated in the introductory verses, for commissioning Kṛṣṇa to compose the SAS.

In his *New History of the Marathas* G. S. Sardesai claims that Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa expounded this view that the Kṣatriya *varṇa* had died out in the Kaliyuga.[29] As this is the only reference to Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa in a modern history and is part of the colorful legend of Śivājī, it is worth citing in full.

> During the reign of Akbar a learned Brahman of Benares named Krishna Narasimha Shesha wrote a work entitled *Shudrāchār Shiromani* (the head-jewel of the functions of the Shudra caste) wherein a theory was promulgated that there existed no Kshatriya caste in the present Kali age. The soul of Shivaji could not tolerate this humiliating position. The pronouncement of Krishna Shesha must be publicly refuted. So he sent a deputation of some learned Brahmans, Keshav Bhat Purohit, Bhalachandra Bhat, Somnath Katre, to go to Udepur and other centers of Kshatriya tradition in North India and rally their opinion in favor of renovating the Kshatriya caste and declaring that caste being never extinct. The deputation was headed by Bālāji Āvji, the keeper of Shivaji's plans and a consummate diplomat. The avowed object of this regenerating movement was to purge society of stupid irrational notions, to put an end to the degradation that ignorance had inflicted in the spheres of the national language, the national religion and national patriotism. The deputation sought out an equally versatile opponent to Krishna Shesha, in the person of Vishveshvar Gāgā Bhatta, whose ancestor Govind Bhatta had left Paithan and taken his residence at Benares early in the 16th century, and who was now ready to display his deep erudition and sharp dialectical powers and beat Krishan Shesha on his own ground. Govind Bhatta's descendants formed a large school of learning and opinion at Benares and produced numerous works of outstanding merit on religion, law, polity, which are even to-day taken as authoritative in Indian courts.
>
> The Rajput princes respected the Bhatt family so highly that no ceremony could be completed in that art of India without some member of their learned family being present to officiate at the function. Vishveshvar alias Gāgā was himself an author of repute and has to his credit an important standard work, Kāyastha-Dharma-Pradip, in which the fanciful theories of the *Shudrāchār Shiromani* have been fully demolished and Kshatriya rites have been granted to the Kāyastha caste.

One is at a loss what to do with this scramble of a tale. Not a trace of the view attributed to Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa is to be found in the Khiste-Kaviraj edition of the SAS. He never even brings up the topic of the existence of the Kṣatriya *varṇa* in the Kaliyuga. He may do so in some other version of the text among the unpublished manuscripts scattered around Indian libraries not included in this edition. Since Sardesai also appeared to believe that Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa was at

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[27] Kane 1973, III. 892.
[28] *Origin and Growth*, 90.
[29] G.S. Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, vol. 1, *Shivaji and His Line 1600-1707,* Bombay: 1946, 209-210. Sardesai repeats this claim in *Historical Genealogies*, Bombay: 1957, 150. It is picked up and appears in other Maratha scholarship on Śivājī such as P.L. Saswadkar, "Vishweshwarbhat Alias Gagabhat," in *Chatrapati Shivaji: Coronation Tercentenary Commemoration* Volume. B. K. Apte, ed. Bombay: 1975, 25-33.

Paithan and was contemporary to Gāgābhaṭṭa and Śivājī,[30] I have to conclude the odds are that this story is equally apocryphal. The appeal is obvious since, if documentable, it would provide the strongest piece of evidence that Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa wrote the SAS. As it is, we have only inconclusive fragments. Sardesai gives no source for his attractive but unverifiable story and it may be taken as another instance of the intriguing tales adrift in Indian histories. Given that the idea of the disappearance of the Kṣatriyas was in circulation at this time and was reputed to be a factor in debates over caste status, that of Śivājī for instance, Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa may very well have shared it. We just do not have any evidence. And given the uncertainty of the interpretations placed on texts in Manu or ascribed to Yama and Kamalākara on this topic, caution is in order.[31]

The further claim Sardesai makes that Gāgābhaṭṭa attacked the opinion of Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa in his *Kāyastha-dharmadīpa* (KDD) I have so far not been able to verify.[32] This assertion is repeated in his *Historical Genealogies.*[33] In the KDD, Gāgābhaṭṭa argued that the Prabhu-Kāyasthas of Maratha country were twice-born and had the right to wear the sacred thread.

This entire complex of issues, the existence of the Kṣatriyas in the Kaliyuga, claims to lost kṣatriyahood, Śivājī's caste status as a Kṣatriya or Śūdra, Gāgābhaṭṭa's role in the initiation and coronation of Śivājī were subjects of controversy in their own time and still are today. Witness the sensitivity around the figure of Śivājī and the furor stirred up by James Laine's book on Śivājī leading to the ransacking of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute in Pune in January 2004 by demonstrators.[34] Given the wide dissemination of the idea of the disappearance of the Kṣatriyas in Kaliyuga, Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa may very well have advocated it, but does not discuss it in the SAS.

In the end, the best way to approach these issues may be that recommended by Rosalind O'Hanlon. The absence of any mention of these in the SAS is not conclusive. It is rather to the role of the Brahmin paṇḍit family as Dharmashastric consulting firm and shastric proprietor and the rivalry between leading families of southern origin in Vārāṇasī for prestige and patronage that we should look.

> I think it is more useful to pursue this question at the level of families and pandit houses, rather than at the level of individual intellectuals. Kamalākarabhaṭṭa of the Bhaṭṭa family, uncle of Gāgābhaṭṭa, says right at the end

[30] *Historical Genealogies*, 150. Gāgābhaṭṭa is clearly not KS's contemporary. We know that KS was an active and authoritative adult in 1583, if we accept the authenticity of the Devarukha document, as O'Hanlon does in "Letters Home" (2009):20-24. That Gāgābhaṭṭa was politically engagé in the 1660's and 1670's is well attested. So they cannot have overlapped as active intellectuals.

[31] N.K. Dutt, *Origins and Growth of Caste in India*, vol. II, 82-88 for a discussion of these texts and issues.

[32] The *Kāyasthadharmadīpa* has not as yet been translated nor have I been able to sift the printed edition obtained from BORI in *Rājavādyāñcī Gāgābhaṭṭī*, ptd. K.T. Gupte, Poona, 1919, App. pp. 1-23. Includes the *Kāyasthadharma-pradīpa* (1677 CE), a supplement to the KDD (1677 CE).

[33] *Historical Genealogies*, 150.

[34] James Laine, *Shivaji: Hindu King in Islamic India*, 2nd ed. OUP: 2003.

of his *Śūdrakamalākara* that, following his father, Rāmakṛṣṇabhaṭṭa, and despite what it says in the Purāṇas that in the Kaliyuga there are only two *varṇa*s, that kṣatriyas and vaiśyas who have given up their proper rituals do still exist here and there in a fallen state, with the implication that they might be able to be restored through penance (and of course, Śivājī performed penance before his *abhiṣekha* conducted under Gāgābhaṭṭa's supervision).

So the story of a feud might be read more in terms of some intellectual disagreement which ran between these families. There may have been an element of family rivalry between the Bhaṭṭas and the Śeṣas that we do not yet know anything about. This is possible. Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa is mentioned as the *pramukha* or head of the Maharashtrian Brahmans in the 1583 Devarukha document. But the Bhaṭṭa house at that time was just emerging as very influential in the city, with Nārāyaṇa's successful re-establishment of the Viśveśvara temple though his good contacts with the Mughal court. I believe that these pandit houses were really set up to be competitive in this way, perhaps commercially as well as socially and intellectually, and of course, the setting for debates at that period laid great emphasis on individual dexterity and showmanship in public argument.

But all this is very speculative, because we simply don't have any worked out intellectual history for these pandits, certainly not as far as these social questions are concerned, because Indologists don't really focus on these things. We lack of course even the first outline of Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa's own position on the matter.[35]

The SAS, unfortunately, does not help with the last desideratum.

The *Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā* and Śūdras

Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa recommends that Śūdras follow the form of rite in the tradition of the Veda in which they have been instructed.[36] However, the default tradition for Śūdras uninstructed in any other should be that of the Vājasaneyi, i.e., the *Śukla Yajurveda*.

> A Śūdra should perform the ritual according to the domestic rite of the branch of the Veda in which the Brahmin who instructs him is versed; in that succession alone should he practice. But if he is not instructed in any particular one, he should follow the Vājasaneyin rite. SAS 107

This is a view which he shared with others *smṛtikāras* writing about Śūdras, notably Raghunandana[37] and Kamalākara (or reports it in his sources) of the idea that Śūdras are or should be Vājasaneyins.

The idea that Śūdras should follow Vājasaneyin ritual forms seems to have been common among dharmaśāstrīs of the Benares school and the Bengali school. Ideas were transmitted between the South Indian, Bengali, and Benares schools through controversies and debates among themselves and with other schools. Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa, for instance, refers on a number of occasions to what the "Easterners," or people in Gauḍa, i.e., Bengalis, say on some disputed point of *śāstra*. The impact of Maharashtrian Brahmins and others migrating from the Deccan to Benares on its intellectual life is well known and has already been discussed.

Why Śūdras should be particularly associated with the *Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā* is not immediately clear. The topic has not been investigated or discussed by anyone to my knowledge. Kane supplies a few pieces of evidence: Ka-

[35] Rosalind O'Hanlon, e-mail to the author, Jan. 10, 2010.
[36] Note here that Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa accepts that Śūdras be instructed in the Vedas, but only through the intermediary of a Brahmin.
[37] SKVT in *Smṛtitattva* II, ed. Jivananda, p. 634; *Malamāsatattva*. Ibid., I, 792.

malākara cites Dakṣa in support of his view that Śūdras should perform the *pañcamahāyajña*s following the Vājasaneyi rite with a Brahman repeating the mantras for them.

> Śūdras have the five great *yajñas*. They should be performed according to the Vājasaneyi *śakhā*. Śūdras are Vājasaneyins according to Dakṣa in a Bengali digest, as is said in Harihara's *bhāṣya* in the *Vivāhaprakaraṇa*.[38]

Raghunandana explains this as meaning that Śūdras should follow the domestic rite as laid down in the *Gṛhya Sūtra* of the *Śukla Yajurveda*.[39] A Brāhmaṇa should repeat the mantra for him. The *Śukla Yajurveda Gṛhya Sūtra* is that of Pāraskara. It is so closely connected with the *Śrauta Sūtra* of Kātyāyana as an appendix that it is often also called the *Katyāyana Gṛhya Sūtra*.[40] Therefore, when the *Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā* was recommended for Śūdras, what was meant was not the collection of *yajus*, the sacrificial mantras, but the *Vājasaneyi Gṛhya Sūtra*. Kane adds that this is probably based on the *Harivaṃśa* (*Bhaviṣyat parva*, III.13).[41] In the Kaliyuga:

> All will expound *brahman*; all will be Vājasaneyins; when the *yuga* comes to a close Śūdras will make use of the word "bhoh" in address.

So, in the Kaliyuga, Śūdras appropriate the *Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā* for themselves. There is a curious paradox here, or perhaps not. On the one hand, there is a warning of the degradation of the Kaliyuga in which we are now living, when Śūdras will usurp the Vedas, yet *smṛti* recommends the *Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā* to Śūdras as proper for them. On the other hand, this is simply a description of the fated state of affairs. That is just the way things are in this cycle.

Apropos other reasons for a Vājasaneyin-Śūdra connection, Nirmala Kulkarni speculates that the Athar-va Veda was not prohibited to Śūdras as stringently as the sacred triad of the *Ṛg*, *Yajur*, and *Sāma Vedas*.[42] As the "fourth Veda," a repository of blessings and prayers for auspicious occasions, folk-belief, charms, imprecations, and sorcery for disease, possession, and the ills of life, the *Atharva Veda* was closely connected with the practical arts of life, medicine and astrology. Its spells carried potent power for harm. The legal literature of Dharmaśāstra, therefore, treated its magic charms and incantations overall as dangerous, inferior, and impure material requiring regulation and sanction. The fourth Veda thus resembles the position of the fourth *varṇa* as dangerous, polluting, and inferior. Āpastamba accords the *Atharva* a lesser status and says that the knowledge of Śūdras and women is supplemental to

[38] SK, 51. Kane says that the *Vivāhaprakaraṇa* is from the *Laghukārikā* of Karka, pre-1100 CE author of a commentary on the *Pāraskāragṛhyasūtra*, aka the *Vājasaneyagṛhyasūtra* of the White Yajurveda.
[39] SKTV in *Smṛtitattva*, ed. Jivananda, vol. II, p. 634 and *Malamāsatattva*. Ibid., vol. I. p. 792.
[40] Arthur A. Macdonell, A *History of Sanskrit Literature* (Haskell House Publishers: New York, 1968) 250.
[41] Kane 156.
[42] Personal communication. Nonetheless, typical Brahman attitudes are found in the *Atharva* about, for instance, the lecherous Śūdra female (1.5.22.6). In another verse the curse of a Śūdra and a Brahman can equally be repelled (10.1.3). The *Atharva* uses the formulaic phrase 'the śūdra and the ārya' (4.20.4). Maurice Bloomfield translates this as "every kind of person, as we should say in America, 'black and white.'" *Hymns of the Atharva Veda*, 1897, 402.

the *Atharva Veda*.[43] In Kulkarni's view, Vājasaneyi Brahmins may have used the *Atharva Veda* as *purohitas* in the service of rulers and others of Śūdra origin, thereby authorizing the *Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā* for Śūdras in general.[44] Whatever its merit, her speculation is suggestive of how this *saṃhitā* came to be regarded as the most appropriate for the fourth *varṇa*.

Colebrooke makes another suggestive observation in his essays on Hindu philosophy in the section on Pāñcarātras.[45]

> Many of this sect practice the initiatory ceremonies and admission to holy orders according to the forms directed by the Vajasaneyi-sakha of the Yajurveda.

Again, it is probably the domestic rites of the *Gṛhya Sūtra* of the *Śukla Yajurveda* that the Pāñcarātras and Bhāgavatas, with whom Colebrooke associates them, or, for that matter, any Vaiṣṇavas were following.

At first glance, there seems little reason for the mantras and *yajus* of the *Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā* itself to have any special relevant to the devotional theism of the Vaiṣṇavas. In fact, the *Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā* represents a shift from the adoration of the power of the gods in the *Ṛg Veda* back to the performance of sacrifices and rites as the main object of interest. It does contains two famous prayers which were important scriptures for Śaivas: the "Śatarudrīya" (*adhyāya* 16), a first-of-its-kind litany addressed to the one hundred forms of Rudra, including Śiva, Śaṅkara, Mahādeva, and Paśupati, and the "Śivasaṅkalpasūkta" (*adhyāya* 34).

The deeds and incarnations of Viṣṇu are accorded a more prominent place than in the Ṛg Veda as well, which may have led Vaiṣṇavas to see it as *śruti* sanctioning their worship of Viṣṇu. *Adhyāya* 40, the last chapter of the *Śukla Yajurveda*, is the short and darkly enigmatic *Īśā Upaniṣad*, which teaches not ritual, but the non-dual knowledge of Īśā, the Lord who is the inmost self of the whole world. This is often given a unitarian theistic reading.

The Vaiṣṇava-Vājasaneyi connection more probably arose from the low caste associations of Vaiṣṇa-vism. Although the Brahmins of the *Śukla Yajurveda* still excluded Śūdras from participation in *śrauta* sacrificial rituals, in later times they allowed them to take part in the domestic rites and ceremonies as outlined the *Gṛhya Sūtra*.[46] It is believed that many early worshippers of Vāsudeva, Viṣṇu, and Kṛṣṇa, the Pāñcarātras, Bhāgavatas, and Sātvatas, were of low-caste, extra-*varṇa*, tribal, or foreign and otherwise non-Aryan origins.

[43] Ā. II, 11, 29, 10.11.
[44] Although a king's priest was in all probability an Atharvan. Yājñavalkya (1.312) says that a minister should be skilled in *Atharva*.
[45] H.T. Colebrooke, *Essays on the Religion and Philosophy of the Hindus*, Indological Book House, Delhi, 1972, 266-267
[46] Uma Kant Pandey, *Political Concepts and Institutions in the Sukha Yajurveda*, Janaki Prakashan, Patna, 1979, 101.

> The emergence of Vaiṣṇavism as an important sect during this period [*circa*. 200 BC –*circa*. 300 CE] offered śūdras an option, and they could get rid of some religious disabilities imposed on them by the brahmanical system. The cult of Viṣṇu promised salvation to vaiśyas, śūdras, and women.[47]

Vaiṣṇavism offered religious equality to Śūdras. Unlike the old orthodox forms of Brahmanism, Vaiṣṇava texts display an unlimited solicitude for the spiritual welfare of lower castes promising them liberation from bondage through faith and devotion to the Lord. Reaching a high tide in the Gupta period, the ameliorating influence of Vaiṣṇavism on the lives of Śūdras goes on long after to moderate the treatment they receive in Dharmaśāstra.[48]

Given the presumably non-Vedic origin and development of early theistic Vaiṣṇavism as popular and dissident movements, before being co-opted and Brahmanized, the Vājasaneyi rites may have been seen as open to them in a way the other Vedas were not. This customary association was preserved in Dharmaśāstra as the recommendation of Vājasaneyi observances as best suited to Śūdras uninstructed in other *śākhās*.

On a closer look, the *yajus* of the *Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā* has other striking Śūdra-friendly features. Most interestingly, the *Śukla Yajurveda* was partly compiled later than the *Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda* and the other three Vedas and exhibits "the almost complete development of castes and mixt castes and considerable advance in arts and sciences, trades, handicrafts and occupations."[49]

This is most evident in *adhyāyas* 30-31, which give the rite of *puruṣamedha*. These two *adhyāya*s may have contributed most to making the *Śukla Yajurveda* speak with particular relevance to Śūdras or rather recommended itself as such to Brahmin writers on Dharmaśāstra, giving a Vedic affirmation for their views on *jātis* and *jīvikās*. The thirtieth *adhyāya* is late, probably from the Brāhmaṇa period (800—600 CE) and gives a vivid picture of north Indian society at the time, and especially the lives of working class Indians. 159 different classes of people are typified by occupation, moral nature, physical characteristic, tribe, or *varṇa*.[50] These are similar to the *jāti*s found in other later works, Manu X, the *Jātiviveka*, and the *varṇasaṅkara* section (17-32) of the SAS itself, but appear still to be in the process of becoming castes.

Puruṣamedha here means not actual, but symbolic human sacrifice, the ritual initiation (*saṁskāra*) of persons into various occupations suitable to their aptitudes and natures. These include many of the job descriptions—dancers, potters, sports-players, carpenters, jewelers, perfumer, washer, goldsmith, herder, physician, brewers, arrow-

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[47] R.S. Sharma 1980, 101. See also Suvira Jaiswal, *The Origin and Development of Vaiṣṇavism: Vaiṣṇavism from 200 BC to AD 500*. 2nd rev. and enl. ed. (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1981),
[48] Sharma, 307-308.
[49] Ralph T.H. Griffith, *The Texts of the White Yajurveda*, preface, ix.
[50] For a complete list and discussion see R. Chandra and K.L. Chanchreek, *Shudras in Ancient India* (New Delhi: Shree Publishers, 2004) 64-72.

manufacturers, rope-makers, hunters, fisherman, musicians, and astrologers, etc., and the tribally derived *jātis*—Āyogava, Niṣāda, Vrātya, Bhilla, Kirāta, Kaivarta, Paulkasa, Cāṇḍāla, and Māgadha, etc.—met with in the SAS.[51] The character types have a certain allegorical poetry as essences of nature, ethnos, and way of life. The Śūdra, appropriately, is the symbol and embodiment of toil (*tapas*).

> For Maruts, a Vaiśya; for *tapas*, a Śūdra; for darkness, a robber, for hell, a manslayer; for misfortune, a eunuch, for trade, an Ayogu; for love, a harlot; for noise, a minstrel from Magadha.
>
> For dancing, a Sūta; for song, a performer; for dharma, a councilor; for jokes and pastimes, a timid man; for sport, a chatterer, for laughter, a jester; for delight, one fond of women; for skill, a Rathakāra; for firmness, a carpenter.
>
> For lakes, a fisherman; for standing waters, a fisher, for tank-waters, a Niṣāda, for reed-beds, a fish-vendor; for fords, an Ānda; for shallows, a Mainala; for sounds, a Bhilla; for caverns, a Kirāta, for mountains, a wild man.
>
> SYV xxx. 5, 6, 16.[52]

The ceremony is concluded with a recitation of the famous Puruṣa hymn, a fuller version of the Puruṣa Sūkta in the *Ṛg Veda* (RV x.90; AV xix. 6), which celebrates the creation of the world and the four *varṇa*s from the self-sacrifice of Puruṣa, the Cosmic Person. There is a second creation hymn (xiv. 28-31) with a very different cosmology in which Śūdra and Ārya were created together among the other happy creatures, beings, animals, and seasons of the earth. Indeed this placing of Śūdra and Ārya on an equal footing in some regard is a remarkable feature of the *Vājasaneyi Samhitā*, so much so that it led B. R. Ambedkar to see a message of equality in it.[53] Śūdras of earlier times may have done so as well.

We find this equation of Śūdra and Ārya repeated in a number of places. Śūdras are as much the recipients of the truth of the Vedas as Āryas:

> As I speak this auspicious word to the peoples, to Brahmin and Rajanya, to Śūdra and Ārya, to kin and stranger, may I be dear to the gods and a giver of gifts in this world.

The light of truth shines on all *varṇa*s, the high and the low:

> O Agni, give to us light among Brahmins, light among kings; light among Vaiśyas and Śūdras; give to me light with light.

Sinning against a Śūdra is as serious a matter as against an Ārya:

> Whatever offense we have committed in village, in forest, in assembly, and by our bodily power, against Śūdra or Ārya, whatever offense we have committed in the case of another, you are the expiation[54]

[51] See Uma Kant Pande (1979): 103-109 for a complete list.
[52] This is the Ralph T. H. Griffith translation, *Yajurveda Saṃhitā* Delhi: Nag Publishers, 1990) 450, 454.
[53] B.R. Ambedkar, *Who Were the Shudras?* (Thacker & Co. Ltd.: Bombay, 1946) 113.
[54] My translations of *Śukla Yajurveda Saṃhitā* xxvi.2, xviii.48, and xx.17.

10

Conclusions: The Ritual Life of Śūdras and the Bhakti Reformation

1

I have established, as much as the meager evidence allows, that the *Śūdrācāraśiromaṇi* is a work by Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa in the latter decades of the 16th century. As the 1583 *nirṇayapatra* shows (whose authenticity is vouched for by O'Hanlon and Pollock), he was an active and authoritative figure then in the intellectual life of Vārāṇasī engaged in the adjudication of Brahmin caste disputes. Around the same time, or earlier, he wrote the *Kaṁsavadha*, a Kṛṣṇa *nāṭaka*, for Govārdhan, the son of Toḍar Mal, Akbar's famous minister of finance. Toḍar sponsored the *Toḍarānanda*, an encyclopedia of civil and religious law, astronomy, and medicine, compiled between 1565-1589. This period appears to be Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa's peak of eminence. His life may have spanned most of the 16th century and can be roughly dated to 1510-1590. His influence on figures in the next century, such as Bhaṭṭojī Dīkṣita and Gāgābhaṭṭa, however, suggests that he may have lived on into the early 1600's.

Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa was a scholar of versatile accomplishment, an exemplar of the multi-talented pandit characteristic of the period. He was most famous for his *Prakriyāprakāśa*, a work of neo-Paninian grammar, written for Kalyāna of Antarvedi in the Doab. Many other grammatical works credibly, and *kṛṣṇa-kāvyas*, more doubtfully, have been attributed to him, but only two *dharmaśāstras*: the SAS and the *Dharmānubandhiślokacaturdaśī*.

As I have argued in the section on dating, Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa's father, Nṛsiṁha, the author of the *Govindārṇava*, cannot be the son of the author of the *Prakriyākaumudī*, if the date of c. 1400 accepted by Pingree and others for that work is correct. Nṛsiṁha and Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa must be in a later family line. In any case, there is clearly something amiss with the dating and lineage of the early Śeṣas which, given the patchy state of the evidence, remains unresolvable for the time being.

It makes more sense to put Nṛsiṁha in the era of the 'Ādil Shāhis of Bījāpūr when they became liberal patrons of the arts and scholarship. Although the period of greatest flourishing was after Talikot (1565) under 'Ālī 'Ādil (1558-80) and Ibrahim II (1580-1627), Ibrahim I (1530-58) brought many Deccanis, including Marathas, into his service. According to another *kṛṣṇa-kāvya* attributed to Kṛṣṇabhaṭṭa (presumably Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa), the *Murārivijayanāṭaka*, his father lived on the Godāvarī River and spent time at the court of Vidyānagara, i.e., Bījāpūr, where he was honored as

bhaṭṭabhaṭṭāraka, a title of respect for a venerable scholar. It was another honorific like "Śeṣa" that Kṛṣṇa and his father garnered, according them precedence and marks of esteem in *sabhās*.

Nṛsiṁha then settled in Vārāṇasī, where his son made his name. Both Kṛṣṇa and Nṛsiṁha were patronized by the Śrīvāstakas, the rājās of Tāṇḍava near Vārāṇasī, Nṛsiṁha by Govindacandra and Kṛṣṇa by Narottama, his younger brother. Kṛṣṇa repeatedly refers the reader to the *Govindārṇava* and, in one instance, claims the work as his own.

The patron who commissioned the SAS from Kṛṣṇa, Pilājī, was a *dākṣiṇātya* king who prided himself on his military prowess and patronage of pilgrimage to Prayāga. The only Pilājī we know of in this period is a scion of the Ghorpade family in Mudhol, in present day Karnataka. The Ghorpades were a side branch to the Bhonsles. Although the editors of the edition of the SAS edition on which my translation is based, Khiste and Kaviraj, did not make much of him, Pilājī Ghorpade, like the Śrīvāstakas is very much in the mold of the typical patron of the period. The Ghorpades were allies or feudatories of the Sultans of Bījāpūr, for whom they fought against Vijayanagara. Therefore, both Śeṣas and Ghorpades had close connections with the court of Bījāpūr. It seems well within the realm of possibility that Pilājī might have an interest in commissioning a work of Dharmaśāstra from a family in high standing there. The Bījāpūr connection is intriguingly strengthened by discovery of the fact that another Śeṣa, Vāmana, son of Ananta, may have been royal librarian to 'Ālī 'Ādil Shāh.

Deccan Brahmin families like the Śeṣas and Bhaṭṭas were the stars in the intellectual life of Vārāṇasī for the next two centuries during its last great burst of brilliance during the period of Maratha supremacy. *Dākṣinātyas* had long figured prominently in Dharmaśāstra producing many of the great *nibandhas* and commentaries that revised *varṇa*: from Aparārka, Vijñaveśvara, Hemādri and Mādhava, to Nīlakaṇṭha, Kamalākara, and Anantadeva). Meanwhile, Maharashtra, which belongs geographically to the south, but linguistically and culturally to the north was one of the main fonts of the second wave of Bhakti—its diffusion to the North—from the 13th century on, with the rise of the Vārkarī panth, the cult of Viṭṭhala, and the poet-saints Jñāneśvara, Goroba, Chokhamela, Janābāī, Nāmdev, and Eknāth.[1] This seems not a coincidence. Maharashtrians would continue to play a leading role in resistance to and reform of caste from Sivājī right up Phule and Ambedkar. Bhakti by critique and resistance and *nibandha*-style Dharmaśāstras by a remapping of *varṇa*, of which *śūdradharma* texts were a distinctive aspect, both reflected and rearticulated caste as it was woven over the subcontinent in the two phases of the medieval: post-Harṣa regional agrarian state formation and Turko-Afghan Muslim conquest and domination from the twelfth century on.

[1] J.L. Brockington, *The Sacred Thread* (Edinburgh, 1996), 151-154.

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The *Satśūdrācāraśiromaṇi* is a manual of dharma for Śūdras written by a Brahmin for Brahmins to guide them in officiating as priests providing ritual services to Śūdras. It was not written for Śūdras, although some were literate. It is difficult to understand a text like the SAS merely from its content as a *nibandha* or compendium of shastric quotations. It is its purpose and use for Brahmins that informs it.

As recent work on this period shows, what it meant to be a Brahmin, Kṣatriya, or Śūdra was a hot topic in shastra at this time. The socio-economic changes of Sultanate-Mughal India had torqued the sense and reality of caste, stimulating a deep questioning of *varṇa* identity. Did Kṣatriyas exist in the Kaliyuga, and who was entitled to exercise power? (As we have seen, tradition accorded Kṛṣṇa a role in this debate, but there is no trace of it in the SAS.) Who were Brahmins and what were their proper livelihoods and ranking vis à vis other Brahmins? Who were Śūdras and what were their ritual/social rights? This question took the form for Kṛṣṇa of who was a *sat*-Śūdra and what were the ritual rights of these "good" Śūdras. He answered it by working out a compromise position within the traditional limits of Dharmaśāstra.

These questions were implicated in each other. In the age of Bhakti, Brahmins had to revamp Dharmaśāstra to cater to new sources of patronage amongst Śūdras while preserving the Vedic aura of Brahmin privilege. How Brahmins could accommodate those who were not entitled to Vedic rituals and mantras was thus a matter of pressing self-interest as Brahmins. As later ethnographic surveys make clear, soon almost all *jāti*s, even the lowest *antyajas* such as Caṇḍālas, were paying Brahmins for their ritual ministrations. The beginning of this process can be seen in the SAS in the allowances made for *sat*-Śūdras.

A fundamental difficulty is that "Śūdra" was principally a term of classification in Brahmanical discourse: its relation and applicability to actual social conditions was and is immensely problematic. There is a vast literature on the subject. As will be observed, I have relied extensively on the work of R. S. Sharma, who, loosely speaking, like many of my secondary sources—D. D. Kosambi, Romila Thapar, Irfan Habib, and Sheldon Pollock—views religious discourse as expressing historically developing social relations, which can be read back out of these. Dharmaśāstra thus becomes a body of evidence reflecting and recording changes in the social status of Śūdras. There is a danger, consequently, of circularity when it is the only or main source.

Another pitfall is the tendency to overrate the significance of Brahmanical *varṇa* discourse, taking it as factual and descriptive. It is best to consider shastric texts not as descriptions, but as strategies primarily concerned with the

place of Brahmins themselves and their interests in the scheme of things. What a text like the SAS was being used for was more important than its juggled traditional contents. Indeed, it can be argued that *varṇa* theory, for the most part, had little relevance to real caste/class relations or how people thought of or identified themselves.

Śūdra is a slippery term. Which groups had the term imposed on them or were willing to accept the label was the result of "caste struggle." "Śūdra" was a contested status which anyone who could do so escaped by claiming higher caste. In social usage, it was a linguistic marker of subjection imposed on those downtrodden and exploited groups such as tribal peoples drawn into and kept at the bottom of the caste system with no economic and political power to resist it.[2] The social composition of the Śūdra varies over periods and regions. The evidence is most nebulous for ancient times, entirely extracted as it is from Brahmanical texts.

Related to the problem with the term "Śūdra" is the issue of translation. It will be noted that I have used the term "right," speaking of the ritual "rights" of Śūdras, the enlargement of Śūdra "rights" in Dharmaśāstra, the "right" to perform a ritual or sacrament, and so forth. I have followed R. S. Sharma in this regard, who uses this language of rights.[3] The term translated as "right" is *adhikāra* and lack of *adhikāra* as disability or discrimination. *Adhikāra* is more precisely rendered as authorization, entitlement, or qualification, all synonyms I use, depending on context. The *adhikāras* that matter in Dharmaśāstra are the entitlements to perform Vedic rites, use Vedic mantras, and receive sacraments reserved to the *dvijas*. The problem was to define the domain of *adhikāra* of the Śūdra, given his formal exclusion. This was accomplished by expanding his qualification for most rites and practices to some degree apart from those strictly *dvija*, and supplying Vaiṣṇava initiation and other substitutes.

There are, of course, many theoretical questions about the socio-historical applicability of such terms as "right," "disability," and "discrimination" to Hindu caste, loaded as they are with the freight of liberal political theory and the discourse of human rights. These have been thrashed out in post-colonialist debates about cultural imperialism and Orientalism. Beyond those, we might say that there have been Enlightenments East and West, but culturally inflected in characteristic ways: in the West, the Greeks, the Renaissance, and the birth of modernity in the 17th and 18th centuries, in India, Buddhism and Bhakti. In premodern Hindu communities, the struggle for rights took a religious rather than a political form. In the nineteenth century, with the arrival of capitalism, modern political forms,

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[2] For Berreman, power and status largely coincide. Caste ranking differs according to the relative social position of the judge and judged and varies between and within caste groups from Brahmin to untouchables, from ritual feast to bazaar. Claims are made with regard to status, sometimes by appeal to Brahmanically derived concepts and language, but conceded on the basis of power. The Gonds, for instance, are untouchables, except where they are landowners. Then, as Raj Gonds, they adopt the ritual symbols and conduct that justify their status. When status and power get too out of sync, viz., prosperous Śūdras, Brahmanical thinking effects a realignment, as we see in *śūdradharma* texts. G. Berreman, "The Brahmanical View of Caste," 16-23.
[3] He does not discuss his own terminology in his *Śūdras in Ancient India*.

and democratic ideology, the language of rights was adopted with only a short time lag. India, however, was ahead of Europe, torn apart by religious wars in the 16th century, in its move toward religious toleration. Bhakti suffered the fate of most enlightenments—to be co-opted and refunctioned to serve the new system of power.

Although parts of it (*vyavahāra*) deal with legal procedure and the matters we think of as criminal and civil law, Dharmaśāstra had only the force of custom (*ācāra*), not the force of law. It was *religio*—a code of community norms exemplified in the conduct of the *sadācāra*, i.e., those who act in accord with dharma. Public opinion was the chief enforcer of these norms. In this context, "right" can only be a term for caste-bound claims on certain ritual entitlements, social prerogatives, and material resources. It is political only in the sense of the power of the community. Throughout the history of caste, claims were made to certain *adhikāras*. These were customary, not constitutional claims on rights or liberties, although caste councils, as we have seen, did render common law decisions for their own communities, and, in that sense, were juridical.

Does it make sense then to speak of a liberalization and expansion of rights, as many modern scholars do, in the *Śūdrācāraśiromaṇi*? Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa was engaged in the same project that had preoccupied digest writers since Lakṣmīdhara in the twelfth century: the more complete inclusion of Śūdras in the Brahmanical ritual system, while preserving the privileges and status of Brahmins. The social position of Brahmins rested on their exclusive control of Vedic education and ritual. This jealously guarded privilege as a source of prestige and income is still very much insisted on in the SAS. Nevertheless, Brahmanism periodically found it the best policy to stress ritual inclusion. What we see in the medieval digest is the deeper penetration of Brahmanically managed ritual into of the lives of the low castes, what can be called deep shastrification, or deep ritualization.

If the Śūdra labored under certain disqualifications, he had compensating advantages. The lives of Śūdras were far from being dull oppressive drudgery, as in the usual picture of caste oppression. On the contrary, they sound often much more interesting and varied and certainly more productive and often more satisfying and pleasant than those of the upper *varṇa*s, They were less subject to restrictive and onerous dharma rules and ritual observance than Brahmins and Kṣatriyas and freer in their private lives. [4] They were at liberty to do many things such as, for instance,

[4] As argue Kane *HDS* II, pt. 1, 164 and Brij Narain Sharma, *Social Life in Northern India* (Delhi, 1966), 55: Śūdras were better off than Brahmins because less imposed upon by purificatory rites. Suvira Jaiswal, however, sees no compensation in this: "In a society which placed a premium on the observance of purificatory rites, social recognition of the comparative laxity of a community in these matters meant low status, and as M.N. Srinivas has shown, lower communities tried to improve their social status through a process of Sanskritization, i.e., by adopting the behavior pattern of higher communities and emulating them in matters of food, drink and marriage." *Caste*, 125n284.

drink alcohol and eat meat denied to more respectable people.[5] They were free of penances and *gotra* restrictions in marrying. Many Śūdras attained wealth, social standing, and political power. Śūdras became kings, ministers, and soldiers, often to the consternation of Brahmins. It was precisely this freedom from ritual observance that *śūdradharma* texts were designed to regulate. They extend ritual down into these lower castes including them in a limited degree in the sacrifices and sacraments previously required only of the twice-born.

The question of who were entitled to call themselves Brahmins and what were their ranking and prerogatives was the focus of intense and sustained debate among the Brahmin communities of western India in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, involving history, lineage, entitlements, reputation, acceptable livelihoods and practices.[6] Adjudications of disputed Brahmin status are the content of the *nirṇayapatras* handed down by Brahmin councils such as those in which Kṛṣṇa and, possibly, his sons, Vireśvara and Cakrapaṇi, participated.[7] These controversies took place in the social networks linking Maratha shrine towns and centers of worship such as Paiṭhan with Vārāṇasī in which Śeṣas and Bhaṭṭas prestigiously figured. Brahmins were forced to rethink their role under the new circumstances of Mughal and Maratha states, redefining themselves as a new scribal and administrative elite just as the social configuration of Śūdras was shifting at the same time under the impetus of the Bhakti movements.

One reason for the great number of *śūdradharma* manuals appearing at this time may have been a need for them among Brahmins as their "ministry" to Śūdra families expanded, ultimately to include all but the most marginal Śūdra castes, to lay down which rituals and mantras were appropriate and how to perform them. One of the them, the *Śūdrakamalākara* of Kamalākara Bhaṭṭa, no doubt due to the prestige and authority of the Bhaṭṭas, received the royal seal of approval for the Brahmin community of Maharashtra. In 1735, Balaji Rao issued an official *dharmasthāpana*, a decree for "establishing dharma" that Brahmins should follow this text when officiating as priests for Śūdras.

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[5] This was so at least true of *asat*-Śūdras whom Kamalākara (60) says do not incur sin even if they partake of meat and alcohol, provided they do not eat forbidden meat and that there is no pollution if a *dvija* comes into contact with a Śūdra who drinks. *sat*-Śūdras were more hemmed in by the expectations of good conduct. In theory, they had to follow good occupations and trades, dutifully serve the twice-born, abstain from alcohol, and eat a vegetarian diet, but this was less so in practice.

[6] As O'Hanlon and Minkowski show, the agricultural and petty trade occupations many Brahmins found it necessary to made a living by were one of the issues in the debates and rulings among Konkani Brahmins. In the sixteenth and seventeenth century, these Maratha Brahmin communities linked the shrine towns and centers such as Paiṭhan with Vārāṇasī. As they competed for new source of patronage of the rising Maratha-Peshwa state as the emerging scribal and administrative the appropriateness of such livelihoods along with lineage and customs were vetted for "Brahmanness." The Dharmashastric reassessment of *śūdradharma* was co-extensive with these debates about Brahmanness. See Rosalind O'Hanlon and Christopher Minkowski, "What makes people whom they are? Pandit networks and the problem of livelihoods in early modern Western India."

[7] Rosalind O'Hanlon, "Letters Home: Banaras pandits and the Maratha regions in early modern India," See pp. 4, 21, 25, & 31. Brahmins back home in the Deccan appealed to their confreres in Banaras for resolution of disputes over ritual entitlement and precedence. Similar pressures of social change were stimulating a reconsideration at the same time of Śūdra ritual entitlement.

> Brahmins performing rites such as marriage for Śūdras at home should perform the rite according to the text of the *Śūdrakamalākara*. They should not perform it according to the Veda.[8]

This may account for the fact that the *Śūdrakamalākara* went on to become the most influential and well known *śūdradharma* text, much more so than the *Śūdrācāraśiromaṇi*.

In an age when Brahmins' position was insecure, claims to Brahminhood and its entitlements were contested, and Bhakti religious leaders challenged Brahmin superiority, it was necessary to adapt the dharma to new customer bases. Brahmins of low status offered their services to Śūdras and other low castes and would increasingly do so. By the nineteenth century, almost all castes made use of Brahmin priests for weddings, funerals, sacraments, and *śrāddhas*. Many Brahmin priests were themselves down on the lowest socio-economic rungs along with astrologers (*jyotishs*), marriage brokers (*ghaṭaks*), minstrels (*bhāts*), and entertainers.[9] Some had fallen into "Śūdra" livelihoods or Śūdra ritual work that exposed them to challenges to their Brahmin status, as we see from Brahmin council rulings.[10] In short, Brahmins were just as divided by caste and class as the other *varṇas*. Few attained the court patronage and fame of high prestige *śāstrīs* like Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa.

Dharmaśāstra, which for two millennia had formally excluded Śūdras, was now made more welcoming to socially respectable, namely, *sat*-Śūdras, while still in fact observing caste distinctions and excluding them from Vedic mantra. In practice, this may not have made much of a difference since the lines between Vedic, Puranic, and customary rites were often faint or fading except for clearly Vedic mantras such as the Gāyatrī and jealously guarded *dvija* privileges such as *upanayana*. Moreover, the rituals of all *varṇas* were officiated by Brahmin priests.

Śūdradharma texts were a conservative, normative response to the changing socio-economic conditions of caste in late Sultanate and Mughal India. They are an effort in the domain of traditional discourse to integrate Śūdras more fully into the Brahmanical ritual fold, part of the process of consolidating the Brahmanical order and preserving the integrity of the *varṇa* system in theory. By their very nature as a traditional discourse they appear to be hermetically sealed off from any such politico-economic influences.

One of the things, therefore, I have tried to do in this study is support the view that Dharmaśāstra, despite its ultra-traditionalism and self-constructed image as *sanātana dharma*, does in fact change with the times, but under the

[8] No. 51 in V. S. Bendrey, *Mahārāṣtretihas cī Sādhaneṃ* (Bombay, 1966): vol. 2, 441.
[9] *The Cambridge Economic History of India*, vol. I: *c.* 1200-1750, edited by Tapan Raychaudhuri and Irfan Habib (Cambridge University Press, 1982): 302.
[10] O'Hanlon, "Letters Home," 6.

canopy of continuity. As Mikael Aktor puts it, *smṛti* ritualized time itself.[11] Present day custom was recorded and sanctioned but as remembrance, as the great *ṛṣis*' perfect knowledge of timeless *dharma*.[12] Textual production was mythologized, but retained flexibility in interpretation. If the social function of Dharmaśāstra was simultaneously to uphold caste with the sacred sanction of the Vedas and to preserve the social position of Brahmins within it as its custodians and gatekeepers, as caste changed over time, these functions had to be redefined and realigned. To show this, I have traced out two lines of intersecting development: the history of Śūdras and the history of Dharmaśāstra. The treatment of Śūdras in Dharmaśāstra can be shown to track, if only in a very broad way, socio-economic changes in the lives of Śūdras. Brahmins did not have the grandly sweeping retrospective view we have of their activity. They were simply engaged in making a living and preserving their traditional ways of life, faith, and learning in changing circumstances.

3

In the early medieval period, the demographics of Śūdras becomes clearer, as does the Dharmashastric response. Regional agrarian kingdoms grew up through territorial expansion, peasantization, and cultural integration. Śūdras moved into agriculture as the agrarian kingdoms expanded into the tribal hinterlands bringing more land under cultivation and settlement.[13] As both Śūdra and *antyaja jātis* proliferated and stratified, some Śūdra *jātis* were pushed up and the *antyaja* subcastes pushed down the social hierarchy. In the Tamil country and Karnataka, *sat*-Śūdras became the landowning castes.

Kulke's processural-integrative model (from *rājavaṃśa* chiefdoms, to *sāmantacakra* kingdoms, to *maṇḍala* empires) may be the best description of these processes currently on offer. In this model, Brahmins played a pioneering role in the establishment of the caste system (jatification), the social and economic absorption of tribals (kṣatriyaization), and the inclusion of their religions and cultures (Hinduization). But in later centuries, they were replaced by non-Brahmin itinerant preachers, sect leaders, and holy men relying on vernacular languages and re-

[11] Mikael Aktor, "*Smṛtis* and *Jātis*: The Ritualization of Time and the Continuity of the Past." In *Invoking the Past: The Uses of History in South Asia*. Edited by Daud Ali (Oxford University Press, 1999): 258-279.
[12] As Pollock discusses penetratingly in "The Theory of Practice and the Practice of Theory in Indian Intellectual History," *JAOS* 105, 3 (1985), p.105.
[13] Kulke, "The Early and the Imperial Kingdom: A Processural Model of Integrative State Formation in Early Medieval India," in the *State in India*, 258-262.

gional norms (*deśa dharma*). As Kulke sees it, these regional traditions, in conjunction with Bhakti, played a vital role in binding together the local and imperial levels. [14]

This points up another of the inadequacies in a Brahmanocentric view of caste: the overrating of Brahmins' dominance as the bearers of high Sanskritization. As we have seen, the position of many Brahmins was insecure and low. Most had to make a living at other occupations such as teaching, medicine, astrology, farming, and so on. It was the structure of caste that dominated people lives, not Brahmins per se. There was movement within its structures up, down, or sideways for them as well.

In the Sultanate period, we see a process of re-urbanization. Towns grew in number, size and population, craft production and commerce expanded, and revenue more efficiently extracted. The introduction of new technologies made possible socio-economic niches outside of the caste structures of the medieval village.

> Besides the changes in construction techniques and the arrival of paper manufacture that were already known, we now know that devices like the spinning wheel, pedals in the loom, pindrum gearing for the 'Persian wheel', tinning, more efficient liquor distillation, etc. were also adopted and diffused in the wake of the Sultan's armies.[15]

These factors coalesced to generate new artisanal manufactures and services and expand old ones. Śūdras then began moving into urban arts, manufactures, and services, and *antyajas* replaced them as the degraded pool of manual labor and servants. Urbanization lifted artisans out of the *jajmānī* system of the village.[16] Urban life also opened up many opportunities in the counterparts of modern entertainment, showbiz, and "adult entertainment" (prostitution) on a large scale.[17] Kṛṣṇa describes many of these professions in his section on mixed *jātis*.

Such developments opened a narrow escape valve from traditional rural society into new social spaces. The spinning wheel spurred the growth of the textile industry making artisan-entrepreneurs like Kabīr possible, a weaver of silk cloth for the luxury market. Sericulture was introduced and took off in the sixteenth century as did carpet weaving, introduced from Persia, and paper making. The Sultans and Mughals had little interest in altering caste structures or in mass conversion. Conversion occurred minimally, mostly for reasons of economic opportunity opened up by horizontal relaxation of hereditary caste constraints and customs on labor. Islam had an unintended destabilizing effect on traditional Hindu caste, not so much from the pull of a supposedly more equalizing faith or the lure of con-

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[14] *Cambridge Economic History of India*, 27-28.
[15] Irfan Habib, "Medieval Popular Monotheism and Its Humanism: The Historical Setting," *Social Scientist*, Vol. 21, No. 3/4 (Mar.-Apr., 1993), 82.
[16] *Cambridge Economic History of India*, 279-281.
[17] *Cambridge Economic History of India,* 303.

version, but from the pull of new economic opportunity and, as Irfan Habib has argued, through levees of captive and forced labor in the initial stages of conquest.[18]

The Mughal Empire was the culmination of trends at work through the Sultanate period: the growth of middle strata in trade and finance, shopkeepers, moneylenders, agents, brokers, merchants, master craftsmen and artisans, lower ranking bureaucrats, physicians, teachers, pandits, mullas, lawyers, and multifarious religious figures. These classes aspired to a gentility as *bhadralok* distinguishing them from commoners, i.e., Śūdras and lower.[19] Many of these classes of people were Brahmins, Kāyasthas, thrifty Baniyas, and Khatris. Śūdra artisans and professionals prospered by serving these middle and upper strata and sometimes rising into them and claiming higher caste status.

Moreover, the Mughals developed a centralized system of administration and revenue collection, recording with meticulous detail prices, taxes, property assessments and the names and castes of households.[20] The *jagir* system itself was a factor then, unclear how significant, in shaping caste by contributing to the regularization of caste identity prior to the administrative rationalizations of the Raj, which are made so much of in some post-colonialist scholarship. The Census of India simply laid down a new field in which to fight it out.

Foreign travelers visiting India in the 16th century invariably painted a picture of ruling elites enjoying lives of "oriental" luxury and the mass of peasants, artisans, and servants mired in misery. Such a class divide with extremes of power and wealth was the social reality everywhere at the time, no less so than in Europe. Another trend in post-colonial studies has been to see great dynamism and social mobility in the Mughal period.[21] Caste was clearly in transition, but, as other see it, was confined to a churning within the narrow horizons of the centralizing system of surplus extraction. The system restricted organizational diversity and social mobility in many ways.[22] The only real mobility for many Śūdras was vertical from agriculture to trades such as weaving and horizontal among related occupations of carpenters, braziers, goldsmith, and masons.[23]

The SAS was addressed to the religious needs of these urban craftsmen and professionals. They were Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa's *sat*-Śūdra *jātis*. Not coincidently, they were also the groups to and for whom Bhakti spoke. Bhakti in the North and West was, in a sense, the ideological expression of these new artisan classes in the domain of the reli-

[18] "Economic History of the Delhi Sultanate—An Essay in Interpretation," *Indian Historical Review*, IV, no. 2 (January, 1978): 292-94.
[19] *Cambridge Economic History of India*, 466.
[20] *Cambridge Economic History of India*, 465.
[21] Leon Sinder, *Caste Instability in Moghal India* (Seoul: International Cultural Research Center, 1963) advances this view most vigorously.
[22] *Cambridge Economic History of India*, 277-278.
[23] *Cambridge Economic History of India*, 285.

gious. Their labor was devoted to the production of household comfort and luxury goods for the affluent. They were oppressed by taxation and longing for something more, or complete release, which they found in their devotional faiths. They were doing better, but their aspirations had run into the structural limits of caste.

> Virtually every relevant feature of the economy, society, and the state was designed to hold the artisan firmly to his lowly place in the scheme of things allowing very little scope for upward mobility or differentiation. Nearly every foreign observer spoke of the relentless tyranny suffered by the artisan, a description confirmed by the indigenous accounts of the manner in which *sa'ir* duties on manufactured goods were collected and literary references to extortions by even the village headsmen.[24]

Dharmaśāstra adapted to the changing social landscape. This is what we see in the *nibandhas* and manuals of ritual from the thirteenth to the seventeenth century: a newly complex view of the place and ritual rights of Śūdras recognizing the new status of these better-off Śūdras and bringing them within the ambit of Brahmanical ritual as patrons for priestly ritual services from which they had been formally excluded. The texts of the tradition that writers on *śūdradharma* cited to authorize enlargement of Śūdra ritual rights were from the late Dharmaśāstras and Purāṇas, which were shaped by an earlier surge of Vaiṣṇava reform that expressed improvements in the social status of Śūdras.

The *nibandha* was the symptomatic form of the era authoritatively assessing and settling the regional and traditional differences in custom and practice in the śāstras. Being a "southerner" in the North may have sharpened Kṛṣṇa's sense of the differences in *ācāra* between *dākṣiṇātya* customs (Deccan), and those of *madhyadeśa* (by which he seems to mean the Ganges midlands), and *gauḍa* (Bengal), as he refers to them on a number of occasions. My Maharashtrian Sanskrit teacher found a certain Deccani flavor in the language and cultural references of the SAS.

4

The influence of Bhakti is not overtly evident in the content of the SAS. It is more a matter of a percolating influence. Kṛṣṇa was clearly a devout Vaiṣṇava, as was, apparently, his patron Pilājī, whom he calls a *paramavaiṣṇava* sprung from the lotus feet of Śrī Hari. Special attention is given to bathing and worship of Vasudeva with music and bells and the immense merit derived from it. But, on the whole, the SAS is *pañcāyatana* and *smārta* in its orientation. Indeed, the SAS illustrates the syncretic emergence of modern Smārta Hinduism with its fusion of Vedic ritual and theistic devotion as popular ceremonies and scriptures were Vedicized and, conversely, the Vedas took on board popular theistic worship. *Pūjā* of Viṣṇu, Śiva, Ganeśa, Devī, and Sūrya, bathing, and purification were fused with

[24] *Cambridge Economic History of India*, 284.

the traditional Vedic rites of the five *mahāyajñas,* most of the *saṁskāras*, *homa*, *vratas*, *tarpaṇa* and the *śrāddha*s and made available in some degree to everyone.

The long-term consequence, ironically, certainly unintended by Brahmins, of opening Vedic ritual to all castes was a decline in their observance by everyone including Brahmins. By modern times, few Vedic *saṁskāras* were being kept up apart from *upanayana* (initiation into Vedic study), marriage, and funeral rites. Except by the very traditionalist, pure forms of Vedic worship such as *somayāga* and *agniṣṭoma* were rarely performed. Perhaps, Vedic rites had lost something of their social caché when they were diluted into general forms of worship. Most Brahmins, along with everyone else, were now practicing forms of worship in which Āgamic rites and mantras together with yogic, tantric, and Vedantic elements predominated. Brahmin priest are mainly brought in for marriages and funerals.

The SAS does emphasize devotion to the *śālagrāma* stone, a feature of popular worship much promoted at this time by the followers of Chaitanya.[25] Viṣṇu was worshipped in the aniconic, "formless" form of these petrified ammonites from the Gaṇḍakī River, as Śiva was in the *liṅga*. Some Purāṇas and *sants* extolled them as filled with the especially intense presence of the Lord and as a substitute for the often untouchable *mūrtis* of the god for Śūdras and women.[26]

Kṛṣṇa quotes the *Skanda Purāṇa* in support of the universal blessings of *śālagrāma* worship.[27] More precisely, it permits the *śālagrāma* stone to "good" Śūdras, fully in keeping with his thinking on these subjects.[28] While some Purāṇas and Brahmin opinion opposed allowing the *śālagrāma* to Śūdras, Kṛṣṇa is with the Chaitanyites on this issue, indicating where his sympathies lay. The *Hari-bhakti Vilāsa* (pre-1541), a well-known guide to Vaiṣṇava worship and practice also quotes the *Skanda* as authorizing *śālagrāma* worship by all castes.

> If women, Śūdras, Brāhmaṇas, and Kṣatriyas worship the *śālagrāma cakra*,
> they attain the eternal abode of the Lord.
>
> *Hari-bhakti Vilāsa* 5.452[29]

It similarly holds out the possibility of Vaiṣṇava initiation even to Caṇḍālas, but with Tantric mantras, showing how common was the strategy of inclusive substitution of rituals for low castes that still holds them at a proper social

[25] B. B Majumdar "Hindu Religion," in *The Mughal Empire,* chap. 20, *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. 7, ed. by R. C. Majumdar (Bombay, 1974), 635.
[26] Sadashiv Ambadas Dange, *Encyclopedia of Puranic Beliefs and Practices* (New Delhi: Navrang, 1989) vol. 4, pp. 1390-1397.
[27] SAS 133-134.
[28] *Skanda Purāṇa* VI.243.46.
[29] Chapter 5 of the *Hari-bhakti Vilāsa* has an extensive discussion of *śālagrāma* worship.

distance. The *Hari-bhakti Vilāsa* is attributed to Gopāla Bhaṭṭa (1503-1578) and Sanātana Gosvāmī (1488-1558), two of the six Gosvāmīs of Vṛdāvana who articulated the theology of grace of the Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇavas.[30]

The spirit of transcendent egalitarianism preached by Bhakta poet-saints was beginning to work its way into the stronghold of orthodoxy, Dharmaśāstra, while the leading role non-Brahmins had taken in popular worship poised a challenge to Brahmin religious primacy. This spirit can be seen in other texts not specifically addressed to *śūdrad-harma*, but about ritual in general. A good example is the *Tristalīsetu* of Nārāyaṇa, Kṛṣṇa's contemporary in the competing house of Bhaṭṭa and restorer of the Viśveśvara temple with its *muktimaṇḍapam* hall where Kṛṣṇa once sat in council in 1583. What we might alternatively call the emotional egalitarianism of Vaiṣṇava Revivalism is more marked in works like this than in the SAS.

The *Tristalīsetu* (c. 1550) is a work on the ceremonies performed at sacred places and, especially, pilgrimage and worship at the *tīrthas* of Prayāga, Kāśī, and Gayā.[31] It is much concerned with *śrāddha*, but has long sections on *tarpaṇa*, bathing, fasts, and tonsure, all topics discussed at length in the SAS. Nārāyaṇa considers pilgrimage and worship as equivalent substitutes for Vedic sacrifices and penances, as does Kṛṣṇa. Indeed, it is more excellent, be-cause it is easy and can be performed by everyone, rich or poor, Brahmin or Śūdra, whether or not they are married or can afford a *ṛtvij*.

> Within Dharma, the kind of Dharma which consists of sacrifices, donations, etc., cannot be practiced in full detail nowadays, because it requires much material expense, and because it consists of many and various parts; and not all varṇas, mixed varṇas, and life-stages are authorized to practice it, because it can be carried out only by a mar-ried man, and completed with the aid of a ṛtvij and other priests.[32]

Śūdras, *pratilomas*, mixed castes, those who have lost caste through misconduct, and women are all entitled to pil-grimage.[33] Worship at *tīrthas* transcends the rules of caste and untouchability.[34] There is no pollution by contact with an untouchable while on pilgrimage. Such attitudes lead Richard Salomon to say that the work shows a "de-mocratic outlook quite untypical of orthodox brāhmaṇical law."[35]

Nārāyaṇa cites the *Mahābhārata*, *Matsya Purāṇa*, and Medhātithi,[36] who argues away the prohibitions found elsewhere in the *Mahābhārata* and in Manu, as his authorities for the dharma of pilgrimage for Śūdras with the same proviso in the SAS: it is encouraged as long as it does not interfere with their first duty of service to the twice-born.

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[30] For up-to-date information and sources on the text, its authorship, and Gopāla Bhaṭṭa's cult of the *śālagrāma*, see Kenneth Russell Valpey, *Attending Kṛṣṇa's Image: Caitanya Vaiṣṇava mūrti-sevā as devotional truth*, (Routledge, 2006), 44-48.
[31] *The Bridge to the Three Holy Cities: The Sāmanya-praghaṭṭaka of Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa's Tristhalīsetu*, critically edited and trans-lated by Richard Salomon (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1985).
[32] *Tristalīsetu*, 37.1.
[33] *Tristalīsetu*, 90.4-98.
[34] *Tristalīsetu*, 190-91.
[35] *Bridge to the Three Holy Cities*, Intro. xvii.
[36] *Tristalīsetu*, 95-96.

Ritual practices at *tīrthas* and *pīṭhas* are major topics too for the SAS, which, after all, was commissioned by a patron who prided himself on his support for pilgrimage to Prayāga.

This promotion of pilgrimage clearly reflects its growth in this period as a major feature of cultural and commercial life. Temple towns and *tīrthas* were important nodes in the networks of trade and production stimulating local economies, providing Brahmins, among many others, with incomes, and rulers with revenue, piety and profit perfectly coinciding. Hindu and Muslim pilgrimage thus was a significant integrator of late Sultanate and Mughal society. The large numbers of pilgrims traveling all around the subcontinent gave rise to what we might describe as a lucrative religious tourism industry.

Nārāyaṇa's many works on ritual became standards on these subjects and were used all over India up to the time of Kane.[37] Their contents and caste outlook are quite similar to those of the SAS and could have been an influence on it. Such texts were in the air at the time and products of competitive mimesis between the leading paṇḍit families in Vārāṇasī. They show that meeting the religious needs of non-Brahmins of high and low station by finding alternatives to expensive and prohibitive Vedic sacrifices was a common concern of Brahmins collectively as they were thrown back on their need to secure the patronage of rising sectors of society in the Bhakti-diversified religious marketplace.

They were now in competition with non-Brahmin leaders of popular Vaiṣṇavism. Followers of Chaitanya such as Narahari Sarkār, a Vaidya and Narottama Ṭhākura, a Kāyastha, taught Brahmins. Brahmins received initiation from Vaiṣṇavas of lower caste than themselves. Tukārām had Brahmin disciples. Although Rāmānand, Chaitanya, Surdās, Rāmdās, Eknāth, and Tulsīdās were Brahmins, they disregarded caste distinctions and accepted backward castes as disciples. To be sure, the more conservative Tulsīdās regarded the appearance of Śūdra religious preachers as a sure sign of the Kaliyuga.

As is well known, many of the most revered Vārkarī panthīs, *bhaktas*, and *sants* were of Śūdra or lower origins. Dādū was a cotton carder, Janābāī a maid-servant, Goroba a potter, Kabīr a weaver, Narahari Sonar a goldsmith, Phule a gardener, Haridās a Jat slave, Raidās an untouchable leather worker, Sena a barber, Dhana a butcher, and Nāmdev a calico printer. Tukārām was from a family of grocers and, socially speaking, from the wrong side of the tracks from the Śeṣas. He illustrates the kind of caste order and the middling, squeezed place *sat*-Śūdras occupied within it that must have been familiar to Kṛṣṇa as a fellow Deccani.

[37] Kane HDS (1974): 420.

> Tukaram was born into a merchant family of modest wealth and social importance. In the caste hierarchy, his family was sudra, a large category with many endogamous subdivisions, occupying a middle position between Brahmins and untouchables. From the standpoint of contemporary Brahmins, who monopolized both religious and social power, Hindu society in Maharashtra was composed of only two classes: Brahmins and sudras. Moreover, the barriers between these classes, enforced by the Brahmins control over Sanskrit education and access to sacred Hindu texts, were clearly defined and understood by all. It is certain that Tukaram, having been raised in a family of traders and grocers adept at keeping written accounts, would have acquired basic literacy in Marathi at an early age. But he would have also been cut off from the entire corpus of textually validated norms and traditions that Brahmins jealously guarded.[38]

Theoretical debates about the existence of only two *varṇas* and the disappearance of Kṣatriyas in the Kaliyuga reflected a real social experience: that there *were* only two classes of people that mattered, Brahmins and Śūdras, and that Śūdras were above the *antyajas*.

As David Lorenzen observes, the religious outlook of Tukārām, like other Vārkarī *sants*, was typical for sects that drew their support from a middle range of castes. They accept much of the Brahmanical idea of karma and reincarnation and the services of Brahmin priests, but believe that salvation is attainable without the Vedas. The grace of god (*prasada*) is sufficient, and the path to grace is devotion (*bhakti*) and self-surrender (*prapatti*). The stress on grace and the demotion of the importance of Brahmin priesthood and Vedic knowledge gives it, in this regard, a similarity to the Protestant Reformation.[39]

The humanism of Bhakti's devotional equality and Akbar's religious toleration both had their limits. The SAS has taken on their spirit of humanity, but, like them, became a strategy of containment and a means for conjuring consent. Bhakti is a catch-all term for multifarious religious and social developments about which it is difficult to generalize. But the idea of salvation that transcended caste runs through the reform movements emanating from Rāmānand, Kabīr, Chaitanya, and Guru Nānak in its *saguṇa* and *nirguṇa* forms, and in its Muslim-Hindu hybrids like Sikhism. A new spirituality, nominally freed from caste and creed, arose in the social space of aspiration opened up in the urban lives of artisans, seeking grace and liberation from the continuing constraints of caste most obvious in Brahmin social, religious, and educational privilege, with a new felt sense of worldly tribulation and its escapability mixed of longing, protest, and resignation.

Bhakti expressed new caste relations and aspirations, but did not radically change caste as a system, indeed, went along with its more pervasive spread. Perhaps of no other religious expression is it truer to say that it was the "sigh of the oppressed creature, the heart of a heartless world, and the soul of soulless conditions."[40] The "opium of the

[38] Richard Eaton, *A Social History of the Deccan, 1300-1761: Eight Indian Lives*, *New Cambridge History of India*, 1.8 (Cambridge University Press, 2005), 130.
[39] David Lorenzen, "The Social Ideologies of Hagiography," in "*Who Invented Hinduism?*, 130-131.
[40] K. Marx, *Introduction to a Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right*, *Collected Works*, vol. 3 (New York, 1976).

people" may be a particularly apt metaphor here considering that opium was one of the main agricultural products for domestic consumption and trade together with oils, tobacco, saffron, and alcohols long before the British began trading it to China.[41] It is arguable that the real effect of Bhakti devotionalism was to encourage Śūdras and lower castes to accept their place and identity by the benevolent promotion of submissive hope and mystical resignation.

Śūdradharma texts such as the SAS reform Dharmaśāstra in the same direction and within the same limits. Caste distinctions are essentially preserved. Śūdras are still denied *upanayana* and the use of Vedic mantras. They are still subject to Vedic disqualification, but in a moderate form and provided with Puranic and customary substitutes. They have access to the blessing and auspiciousness of the *numen* of the Vedas, but only through the intermediatory channel of the Brahmin. Similarly, caste distinctions were maintained even among the Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇavas. The leaders of the movement were mostly Brahmins and the followers lower castes. Likewise, the motives for Akbar's policy of religious toleration were not entirely philanthropic. A Tariq Ali has remarked:

> [Amartya] Sen is right to stress the tolerance of the Mughals, particularly Akbar, toward the non-Muslim majority. The Muslim conquerors, like the British after them, knew that stable rule was dependent on securing the consent of crucial layers of the indigenous elites. This they did successfully, and even the last of the great Mughal emperors, the devout and narrow-minded Aurangzeb, presided over an imperial army led by an equal mix of Hindu and Muslim generals.[42]

Even Akbar's much praised interfaith dialogues between Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Parsees, Jains, Jews and even Charvaka atheists who regarded Brahmin sacrifices, rituals, gifts, and penances as self-interested priest-craft, were a purely courtly affair.

[41] *Cambridge Economic History of India*, 274.
[42] "The Argumentative Indian: A Disagreement with Amartya Sen," Chap. 6 in *Protocols of the Elders of Sodom and Other Essays* (Verso, 2009).

11

Appendices

Table of the Mixed Castes in the SAS

Origin and Name	Livelihood and Ethnicity
Andhasika: Vaideha father & Rūpaka mother.	Cook; popularly known as "Pācaka."
Ambara: Āvartaka father & Venyā mother.	Weaver; name of a people.
Ambaṣṭha: Brahmin father & Vaiśya mother.	Physician; veterinarian; also called "Agneyanartika;" One of the subcastes of Kāyastha professionals in Bengal and Bihar.
Ābhīra: Brahmin father & Māhiṣya or Ambaṣṭha mother.	Cowherd.
Āvarta: Kṣemaka father & Ingu mother.	Camel-driver.
Āyogava: Vaiśya father & Śūdra mother.	Carpenter.
Āvartaka: Ṛjukaṇṭha father & Brahmin mother.	Worship of Viṣṇu, the arts of song; dance, & playing the conch shell & *vīnā.*
Aurabha: Ṛjukaṇṭha father & Chāgala mother.	Sheep-herder.
Ugra: Kṣatriya father & Śūdra mother.	Snake-catcher; encomiast; bard.
Udavāha: Brahmin father & Vaideha mother	Parasol-bearer; seller of women.
Ulmuka: Kṣatriya father & Māgadha mother.	Iron-workers; excluded from the four *varṇas*, best of the sub-castes.
Ṛjukaṇṭha: Vratya father & a married Brahmin mother.	Worship of Viṣṇu; the arts of song & dance; playing the conch shell & *vīnā.*
Kaṭadhāna: Āvartaka father & married Brahmin mother.	Worship of Viṣṇu; the arts of song & dance; playing the conch shell & *vīnā.*
Karaṇa: Vaiśya father & Śūdra mother.	Ornament-maker.
Karmacaṇḍāla: son of an ascetic & a widow.	Laborer on earth-works such as wells & tanks; untouchable.
Kāyastha: Vaideha father & Māhiśya mother.	Scribe; writing of vernacular scripts; accounting, serving the four *varṇas*. He has five *samskāras* & is excluded from the *śikhā*, initiation, red garments, & touching the images of deities. For KS, they are top Śūdras or be-

	tween them and Vaiśyas. The caste ranking in Bengal is: Brahmin, Vaidya, Kāyastha, Bhat.
Kāmsāra: Brahmin father & Ambaṣṭha mother.	Copper & iron smith. *Cf.* the Kansaras of Gujarat.
Kimśuka: Vaiśika father & Kuruvinda mother.	A subcaste; whitewasher; plasterer; brick layer; seller of bamboo-ware.
Kīnāṭa: Kṣatriya father & Pāraśava mother.	Coppersmith; commonly called "Tāmbera."
Kīnāśa: Ḍiṇḍima father & Śauṇḍika mother.	Insect catcher.
Kukkuṭa: Niṣāda father & Śūdra mother.	Metal-smith. puts on dance & theatre in play-houses; show business; on the level of the lowest castes.
Kuntala: Māgadha father & Ugra mother.	Barber; manicurist.
Kumbhakāra: Brahmin father & Ugra mother.	Potter.
Kuravinda: Sūta father & Kukkuṭa mother.	Specializes in silks; lives following the dharma of the sub-castes.
Kuśīvala: Ambaṣṭha father & Vaideha mother.	Performing artist; actor; dancer; mime; bard; herald; newsmonger.
Kolhāṭi: Śilīndra father & Kṣatriya mother.	Juggler; acrobat; street performer; popularly know as a "Bahurūpī," an impersonator of divine figures.
Kaivarta: Pāraśava father & Āyogava mother.	Fisherman; boatman.
Ksattṛ: Śūdra father & Kṣatriya mother.	
Kṣemaka: Kṣatriya father & Ugra mother.	Porter; doorkeeper; butler.
Gāruḍa: Niṣāda father & Vaideha mother.	Same dharma as the seven subcastes.
Gūḍhajataka: child born to an unfaithful wife and in Hindu law claimed by the husband; A Kṣatriya, but denied consecration.	
Carmakāra: Niṣāda father & Dighvaṇa mother.	Shoemaker; leather-worker.
Citrakara: Dhigvana father & Kumbhakāra mother.	Painter; extra-*varṇa*.
Chāgalaka: Kaṭadhāna father & Mañju mother.	Goatherd; popularly known as "Ajāpāla."
Jāṅghika: Pāraśava father & Ugra mother.	Swift of foot; courier; colloquially called "Vari."
Dasyu: Mlecchas.	
Durlabha: Āyogava father & Dhigvaṇa mother.	Saw makers; first of the *antyajas*,

Devalaka: Brahmin father & Bhojaka mother.	
Ḍomba: Caṇḍāla father & Niṣāda mother.	Remover of dead horses & donkeys; lives in cemeteries.
Dhigvaṇa: Brahmin father & Āyogava mother.	Armor maker; leather worker saddler; (from *dhikvarṇa*, “despised caste”?); popularly called “Mocī.”
Naṭa: On of the seven *antyajas* or sub-castes below the four *varṇas*.	
Nāpita: Brahmin father & Śūdra mother.	A Brahmin who is without the *saṁskāras* and is the son of a Śūdra girl becomes a barber.
Niṣāda: Brahmin father & Śūdra mother.	Colloquially know as “Kahāmra.” In other sources described as a wild non-Aryan tribe; hunters; fishermen; robbers; Bhilla or Bhils.
Nīlīkartā: Ābhīra father & Kukkuṭa mother.	Indigo-maker.
Nirmaṇḍalaka: Ābhīra father.	Arrow-maker; saw-maker.
Pāmśula: Pauṣṭika father & Kaivarta mother.	Hemp-weaver.
Pāraśava: Brahmin father & Śūdra mother.	
Pukkasa or **Pulkasa**: Niṣāda father & Śūdra mother.	Wild animal hunters; similar to the subcastes.
Pulinda: Vaiśya father & Kṣatriya mother.	A wild mountain tribe; cattle raisers; hunters.
Puṣpaśekhara: Kaṭadhāna father & Brahmin mother.	Worship of Viṣṇu; the arts of song & dance, plays the conch shell & *vīnā.*
Pauṣṭika: Brahmin father & Niṣāda mother.	Called in modern times Kahāra or Bhoī (palanquin-bearer).
Bandhula: Maitreya father & Jāṅghikā mother.	A Mālaka, a forest people; a gardener.
Barbara: Kuntala father & Mañju mother.	Non-Aryan peoples; barbarians?
Bandhula: Maitreya father & Jāṅghika mother.	
Buruḍa: Karmacaṇḍāla father & Vaideha mother.	Basket- & mat-maker; bamboo-splitter.
Bhasmāṅkura: The son of a fallen Śaiva. or Pāśupata with a wife of a Śūdra.	Living by Śiva worship & offerings, & on the donations made to Śiva called the Lord of Caṇḍī’s share.
Bhojaka: Brahmin father & Puṣpasekhara mother.	Makes a living by worship of Sūrya.
Manguṣṭha: Jāṅghikā father & Kaivarta mother.	Washerman; lime maker; untouchable.
Maṇḍalaka: Puṣpaśekhara father & Karmacaṇḍāla mother.	Dog-keeper.

Malla: outcaste Kṣatriya father & mother. — Wrestler; boxer; athlete.

Māgadha: Vaiśya father & Kṣatriya mother.

Māhiṣya: Kṣatriya father & Vaiśya mother. — Cattle-herder.

Mālākāra: The son of a Māhiṣya father & Pāraśava mother. — Garland maker; florist.

Mūrdhāvasikta: Brahmin father & Kṣatriya mother.

Meda: Vaideha father & Kārbolika mother; also Kārāvara or Niṣāda mother (M, MB). — Hunter-gatherers in jungles and mountains; commonly know as the "Gohu."

Maitra: offspring of an outcaste Vaiśya.

Maitreyuka or **Maitreyaka**: Vaideha father. & Āyogava mother. — Bell-ringer at dawn; praise-singer.

Mauḥkali: Ugra father & Pāraśava mother. — Oil miller; seller of pure sesame oil; among the higher subcastes; because of the offensive sound of the milling machine, he must live outside of town.

Mleccha: The Mleccha *jātis* were begot according to Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa by Śailandhra men on Meda women, but Manu says that:

"In consequence of omitting the sacred rites and not heeding Brāhmaṇas, the following tribes of Kṣatriyas have gradually sink in this world to the condition of Śūdras: Puṇḍraka, Coḍa, Kāmboja, Yavana, Śaka, Pārada, Pahlava, Cīna, Kirāta and Darada." (M. X.43).

Rajaka: Ugra father & Vaideha mother. — Washerman.

Rathakāra: Māhiṣya father & Karaṇa mother. — Lives by the arts; said to be eligible for Vedic initiation.

Rūpaka or **Rūpakārī**: — Performing artist.

Raumika: Malla father & Deśika mother. — Salt-maker.

Vatsapālaka: Vaiśya father & Karaṇa mother. — Cowherd.

Vena — According Manu (vii, 41; ix, 66-67) founded the degraded Niṣādas and Dhīvaras (mixed caste in Gaut. iv, 19).

Venyā. — Dancer.

Vaitālika: — Living by the arts of love (*kāmaśāstra*); encomiast, balladeer; performing artist (*bhaṭṭakarma*); Bhats?

Vaideha or **Vaidehaka**: Vaiśya father & Brahmin mother; or Brahmin father & Vaiśya mother (M); or Śūdra father & Vaiśya mother (G)	The Videha people; traders; attendant women's apartments.
Vaiṣṭhika: Brahmin father & Niṣāda mother.	Porter.
Vrātya: the "broken-vowed;" sons born to *dvijas* by wives of their own *varṇa* that have become outcaste through non-observance of the sacraments, esp. the offspring of a Kṣatriya & a Śūdra, (AV).	
Śayyāpāla: Kṣemaka father & Sairandhra mother.	Keeper of the bedchamber; domestic manager.
Śālakya: Mālākāra father & Karaṇa mother.	Jewelers; lapidaries; popularly called "Manihāras" (necklaces), or "Mañjus" (topazes).
Śalmala: Mañju father & Kulāla (potter) mother.	Betel-seller.
Śilīndra: Mālākāra father & Kṣatriya mother:	Masseur.
Śailandhra .	
Śauṇḍika or **Śauṣkala**: Vena father & Ābhīra mother. Śausika	Wine-seller.
Śvapāka: Caṇḍāla father & Pukkasa mother.	Cookers of dog-meat.
Sūta: Kṣatriya father & Brahmin mother; or Brahmin father & Kṣatriya mother; or Śūdra father & Kṣatriya mother.	Charioteer; equerry; driver; groom; master of the horse; herald,; bard.
Sūpakāra: The son of a Sūta father & a Vaideha mother.	Soup maker; cook.
Sūtradhāra: Āyogava father & Rathakāra mother.	Earns a living by his wife; a public performer; acrobat; knowledgeable in the arts of dance & theatre; writes lines for shadow-puppet theatre; lives outside of town.
Sairandhra: Karaṇa father & Āyogava mother.	Perfume maker; vendor of flowers & sandal.
Saunika: Caṇḍāla father & Kaivarta mother.	Butchers; mutton-sellers; colloquially know as "Khaṭīka."
Sauvīra: Kukkuṭa father & Ābhīra mother.	Clothes maker for all *jātis*; traditionally called "Kosaṭa."
Syandolika: Śūdra father & Vadinī mother.	Madder dyer; dying & printing cloth; tailor.
Harimekhala: Vaideha father & Ambaṣṭha mother.	

Texts and Authors Cited in the SAS

Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa, in proper *nibandha* form, quotes from many Smṛtis and Purāṇas, from the Mahābhārata among the two epics, and from digests such as Aparārka, the *Kalpataru*, *Smṛticandrikā*, and *Mitāksarā*. My list of his sources draws mainly on Kane for background information.[1] A compilation of Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa's sources, unfortunately, does not help much in dating the SAS. Only two of the texts, the *Kṛsnabhattīya* and *Prāsādadīpikā*, can be dated later than to a fuzzily indeterminate "before-1500 CE." If the author of the SAS is quoting texts from the 15th century, it does, however, seem a bit more likely that he is writing in the next century at least, since citing close contemporaries is an uncommon practice in the tradition-oriented field of Dharmaśāstra and more often seen in the *navya smṛti* of the seventeenth century.

Kṛṣna Śeṣa cites much from *sūtra*s and *smṛti*s now lost or preserved only in fragments or quotations in commentaries and digests.[2] These include Aṅgiras, Atri, Gārgya, Uśanas, Kaśyapa, Jātukarṇya, Devala,[3] Paiṭhīnasi, Bṛhaspati, Bharadvāja, Śaunaka, Yama, Vyāsa, Caturviṁśatimata, Hārīta, Pitāmaha, Kārṣṇājini, Śātātapa, Sumantu, Pracetas, Samgraha, Laugākṣi and Ṛṣyaśṛṅga. As often as not, his quotations, even from standard and extant *smṛti*s such as Viṣṇu and Manu, are not in the printed versions we have. In the case of Manu, he could be relying on some transmission of the text now lost to us. Many of these texts such as the *vṛddha*-prefixed ones, *Vṛddha Pārāśara Smṛti*, *Vṛddha Manu Smṛti*, *Vṛddha Śātātapa Smṛti*, *Vṛddha Vasiṣṭha Smṛti*, and *Vṛddha Yājñavalkya Smṛti*, seem to be, as Rocher has observed, in the category Derrett called "bogus," "supposititious," and "apocryphal" *smṛti*s.[4]

> From the ninth century on, irrespective of the development of purāṇic material, a new wave of smṛti writing occurred. The names given to the works, often prefixed (as were some older works) with Vrddha-, Laghu-, and so

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[1] Kane, HD (1974,) vol. I.

[2] J.D.M. Derrett, *Dharmaśāstra and Juridical Literature.* Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1973, 38-40.

[3] This one at least has been reconstructed by M.L. Wadekar in *Devalasmrti-Reconstruction and Critical Study*, 2 vols. Delhi: Koshal Book Depot, 1996. However, only four of the sixteen quotes in the SAS from Devala are found in the reconstructed text. This is the case for many of the minor *smṛti*s—most of Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa's quotes are not in the published texts.

[4] Derrett (1973), 40. See Richard Lariviere, Dharmaśāstra, Custom, 'Real Law' and 'Apocryphal' Smṛtis," *Journal of Indian Philosophy*, vol. 32, no. 1, Feb. 2004, 611-27, for a sharp critique of the inadequacy of the distinction Derrett makes between genuine and "bogus" *smṛtis*. Derrett gives no criteria for making a judgment of authenticity beyond implying that older texts are more authoritative than newer ones and one-off, unlocatable quotes from lost sources are apocryphal. If this is so, then the SAS is full of "bogus" material. In any case, a tradition must make such a judgment of authenticity and Dharmaśāstra does so in its own way. "The ultimate test of the verity of a text is whether or not it is acceptable to successive generations of *śiṣṭas*. These are the vectors for the transmission of any text. If the *śiṣṭas* determined that a verse or whole text was bogus, apocryphal, etc. then they would not have bothered to transmit it. The methods of transmission—by teaching a text to students and by having a manuscript copied—ensured that there was an informed, vigilant, and conservative audience which would be able to detect fraud quickly," p. 620.

This is linked with Lariviere's view that *dharmaśāstra* is a record of the actual customs, mores, and norms of certain communities in particular times and geographies as they sedimented in tradition, and are not merely "suasive" as Derrett would have it. The idea of the fraudulent is inappropriate in the context of *smṛti* since *dharma* literature was always adapting itself to new circumstances and needs, as I believe we see the SAS doing.

> on, are chosen from the list of known authors of genuine smrtis…The wave of 'bogus' smṛti writing, which, may have extended into the seventeenth century, was not juridical in inspiration. The fragmentary smṛtis, on the other hand, are often turned to for new information.

We do not know if Kṛṣna Śeṣa was familiar with variant oral versions or had actual copies of the texts he is quoting. Or is he drawing citations from other *nibandha*s? In other words, were they still in existence in his time or already lost. Kṛṣna Śeṣa is, apparently, one of those commentators for whom now lost and in-complete *sūtra*s and *smṛti*s contained significant and valuable information. His many citations of them, if nothing else, indicate the vast number of *smṛti*s once available and how variegated in content they could be.

Ācārya

Agasti: a. *Agastyasamhitā.*

Ācārasāgara: c. 1168 a. Ballālasena.

Aṅgiras Smṛti

Aparārka: 12th century digest in the form of a commentary on Yājñavalkya

Āpastamba Dharmasūtra

Āśvalayana Gṛhya Sūtra

Āśvamedhika

Atri Smṛti

Bahuvṛca Pariśiṣṭa: appendix to the *Bahuvṛca Gṛhya Sūtra*, mentioned by Hemādri, Raghunandana & in the *Nirṇayasindhu*.

Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra

Bharadvāja: a. of śrauta- & gṛhya-sūtras.

Bhaviṣyapurāṇasvarasa

Bṛhaspati: *smṛtikāra* on Artha- and Dharmaśās-tra, post-Manu jurist, a. of a long & influential work on law (200-400 CE.)

Bṛhat Nāradīya

Caturviṁśatimata

Chandoga Pariśiṣṭa: quoted by Hemādri, may be the same as the *Karmapradīpa* of Gobhila; many commentaries.

Dakṣa Smṛti

Devala: influential jurist, contemporary of Bṛhaspati & Kātyāyana.

Dharmavivṛti: mentioned in Madanapāla.

Dīkṣaprakāśa: Tantric text quoting the *Gaṇeśavimarśiṇī* on the *pañcāyatana* deities.

Gārgya: ancient expounder of Dharma, quoted in Vrd. Yaj., Ap, and SC.

Gautama Dharmasūtra

Gauḍa: an "eastern" *smṛtikāra* in the Bengal or Gauḍīya School of Navya Dharmasāśtra.

Gobhila Gṛhya Sūtra

Govindārṇava: digest, a. Nṛsiṁha Śeṣa, probably 15th century.

Gṛhyapariśiṣṭhamata: may be an epitome of the *Bahuvṛca Gṛhya Pariśiṣṭa*.

Hārīta: jurist c. 4th -7th century, a. of a Dharmasūtra.

Hemādri: c. Maratha *dākṣinātya* a. of the *Caturvargacintāmaṇi*, a voluminous encyclopedia of ancient religious rites and observances, c. 1270.

Jābāla Smṛti: mentioned in Mit. & Ap.

Jamadagni Smṛti: mentioned in Mit, Ap, Haradatta, *Kalpataru* & SC.

Jātiviveka: Several works by this title are listed by Kane (HDS pp. 548-549) by Parāśara, Viśvanātha, Raghunātha. Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa, and Viśveśvarabhaṭṭa. It is unclear which one Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa may be citing.

Jātūkarṇya or **Jātakarṇa**: 3rd or 4th century

Kalpataru: c. 1125 CE, a. Lakṣmīdhara, influential digest.

Kārṣṇājini: vide Kane 223.

Kaśya or **Kaśyapa**: a. of a Dharmasūtra.

Kātyāyana: 4th -6th century a. of a verse *smṛti* and a *Śrāddhasūtra*.

Kātyāyanasūtrabhāṣya

Kratu: a. of a *smṛti* mentioned by Mit, Ap & SC; attributed a *Kālakhaṇḍa* in the SAS.

Kṛṣnabhattīya: before 1500 CE.

Laghu Parāśara Smṛti

Laugākṣi: vide Kane 235.

Madanapāla: patron of Viśveśvarabhaṭṭa, the putative a. of the *Smṛtikaumudī*, c. 1360-1390 CE.

Mahābhārata: authoritative source of *smṛti* in later authors, including Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa.

Mahābhāṣya

Maitri Upaniṣad

Manusmṛti & **Mānavadharmasūtra**

Marīci: vide Kane 230-231.

Medhātithi: 820-900 CE, a. of famous *bhāśya* on Manu.

Mitāksarā: 1050-1120 CE, a. Vijñāneśvara, epitome of all preceding Dharmaśāstra, basis for Hindu law.

Nārada Smṛti: 1st BC to 4th CE century.

Nṛsimhāṅghrimahodadhi: obscure, curiously entitled work I could find nothing about.

Nyāyakusumāñjali: a. Udayanācarya

Paiṭhīnasi: ancient *sūtrakāra* on Dharma.

Pāraskara: a. of the *Pāraskara Gṛhya Sūtra*.

Parāśara Smṛti

Pitāmaha Smṛti: 4th-7th century

Purāṇas: Rich in Dharmaśāstra materials and much quoted in later authors as authoritative sources of *smṛti*, as does Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa, who most frequently cites the Bhaviṣya, Brahma, Mārkandeya, Kūrma, Varāha, & Viṣṇu Purāṇas.

Āditya Purāṇa
Agni Purāṇa
Bhāgavata Purāṇa
Bhaviṣya Purāṇa
Brahma Purāṇa
Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa
Devī Purāṇa
Kālikā Purāṇa
Kūrma Purāṇa
Liṅga Purāṇa
Mārkandeya Purāṇa
Matsya Purāṇa
Nāradīya Purāṇa
Narasiṁha Purāṇa
Nṛsiṁha Purāṇa
Padma Purāṇa
Śiva Purāṇa
Skānda Purāṇa
Vāmana Purāṇa
Vāyavīyasamhitā Purāṇa
Varāha Purāṇa
Vāyu Purāṇa
Viṣṇu Purāṇa

Pracetas: vide Kane 229.

Prāsādadīpikā: before 1500 CE.

Ṛṣyaśṛṇga: vide Kane 223.

Saṁgraha: 8th-10th century much quoted in later authors on all parts of Hindu law including *vyavahāra*.

Samvarta: pre-Yājñavalkya writer on Dharma.

Śāṅkarabhāṣya

Śaṅkhadhara: before 1050 CE.

Śaṅkha-Likhita Dharmasūtra

Śaṅkha Smṛti

Śāṅkhāyana: *gṛhyasūtra* with many later commentaries.

Śātātapa Smṛti

Satyavrata Smṛti

Śaunaka: numerous works attribute to him; probably the eponym of several authors according to Kane.

Smṛticandrikā: c. 1200 CE, a. Devaṇṇabhaṭṭa, well-known digest quoting profusely from numerous *smṛtikāras*, valuable source for lost works on many topics of Dharma.

Smṛti Bhāskara: Two texts by this name. 1. mentioned by SC and the *Nṛsiṁhaprasāda* with a section on *śūdradharma.* 2. a. Nīlakaṇṭha.

Smṛtikaumudī: 3 works by this name.
1. a. Madanapāla/Viśveśvarabhaṭṭa, c. 1360-1390 CE. aka *Śūdradharmotpaladyottinī*; 2. digest by Devanāthaṭhakkura; 3. a. Rāma-kṛṣṇabhaṭṭācarya. Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa is mostly likely quoting the first.

Smṛtiratnāvalī: 4 texts by this name in Kane. Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa is probably citing the one mentioned in *Nṛsiṁhaprasāda*, *Nirṇaya-sindhu,* etc.

Smṛtisāgara: 1. another name for the *Govindārṇava*; 2. digest by Kullūkabhaṭṭa, c. 1250 CE.

Śrīdattāhnikā: 1275-1300 CE, a. Śrīdattā, an early Maithila *nibandhakāra*, *fl.* 1279-1310 CE.

Sumantu: a. of a prose sūtra on dharma, quoted in Ap., and SC; personage in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* and *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa*.

Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad

Taittirīya Samhitā

Taittirīya Āraṇyaka

Uśanas Dharmaśāstra

Vasiṣṭha Dharmasūtra

Vāsisthāyana

Vivasvān: a. of a *smṛti*.

Viśvambharaśāstra

Vṛddha Pārāśara Smṛti

Vṛddha Manu Smṛti

Vṛddha Śātātapa Smṛti

Vṛddha Vasiṣṭha Smṛti

Vṛddha Yājñavalkya Smṛti

Vyāghra: a. of a *smṛti* on daily duties mentioned by Ap, Mit, & SC.

Vyāsa: a. of a *smṛti* and legendary compiler of and personage in the Mahābhārata.

Yama Smṛti

Yājñavalkya Smṛti

Yogī Yājñavalkya: a. of the Yoga-Yājñavalkya.

Doctoral Defense Presentation

I'd like to talk briefly about how Dharmaśāstra can be interesting and useful, with my text as example The *Śūdrācāraśiromaṇi*, "*The Gemstone of Śūdra Conduct,*" is a work from the late period of Sanskrit, long regarded by Western Indologists as one of dried-up scholasticism and exhausted creativity. Indian scholars however, regarded it a "golden age" of Sanskrit with undoubted achievements in new philosophy and linguistics, astronomy, and poetry. Western scholarship has come round to the Indian view of it. In recent years, there has been a burst of fresh study of the period, most notably Sheldon Pollock's *Sanskrit Knowledge Systems on the Eve of Colonialism* project. A text like the *Gemstone of Śūdra Conduct* is at the intersection of many issues of current study: the development of caste and the role of brahmans and brahmanization in it, the formation of Hinduism as a religion and identity, the prehistory of dalit studies, and the pre-colonial, colonial, and postcolonial focus of recent endeavors. A text like the *Gemstone* is useful in getting a longer perspective on these matters.

My author, Kṛṣṇa Śeṣa, is one of the outstanding figures of this late, brilliant period. He made his name as a neo-Paninian grammarian, but wrote many *kṛṣṇa-kāvyas* (if we accept their attributions), most certain and well-know of which is the *Kaṁsavadha*, a *nāṭaka* composed for the son of Todar Mal, Akbar's minister of finance. Kṛṣṇa's peak of *activity* is roughly 1560-1590. In the 16th-17th centuries, Vārāṇasī became a pan-Indian center of scholarship and culture. Pandit families from the Deccan, such as the Śeṣas and Bhaṭṭas, one of whom, Gāgābhaṭṭa, was closely connected with Śivājī, played a leading role in the intellectual life of Vārāṇasī. This was the era of the political and cultural rise of the Marathas. Being a Maharashtrian residing in Vārāṇasī may have sharpened Kṛṣṇa's sense of the regional variations in custom between Deccanis, Madhyadeshis, and Gauḍas.

I spent a lot of time, perhaps too much, on the problems of dating Kṛṣṇa and sorting out the works that are attributed to him. The evidence for his authorship of the *Gemstone* is as exiguous as the rest of it. The main difficulty was that the *Govindārṇava* of the author's father, Nṛsimha, was dated by Pingree and Kane to the early part of the previous century. I had to show the weakness of the evidence for this, in the end, not very conclusively. I think I may have had more success in identifying the patron of the *Gemstone*, Pilājī, as the *raja* of Mudhol in the 1570's, whom Kṛṣṇa praises as a valiant king in the South, a supporter of pilgrimage to Prayāga, and a pious defender of dharma concerned about the confusion of *varṇas*. Pilājī was of the Ghorpade dynasty, a side-branch to the Bhonsles, which ruled Mudhol until the 20th century. He fought for the Sultans of Bījāpūr in the wars with Vijayanagara. As Nṛsimha

was also at the court of Bījāpūr, according to another play of Kṛṣṇa's, a connection of patronage between them seems highly plausible.

When I was in Pune working on my translation with Nirmala Kulkarni, a Deshashta Brahman and a woman doing Vedic, she introduced me to Parshuram Paranjape at the Vaidik Samshodhan Mandal, who claimed, astonishingly, to be a descendent of my author, by which, it turns out, he meant that he was in the same *gotra*. He gave me material on the Śeṣa family, part textual, part *gotra* tradition, which I'm still not quite sure what to do with.

The *Gemstone* is a work on the ritual practices of śūdras, since that is the lens through which Dharmaśāstra looks at the social. It shows us what brahmans were thinking about caste and the place of the śūdra in the 16th century, and, when read critically, can give us a picture of the lives of working class Indians engaged in livelihoods that brahmanical discourse categorized as śūdra. How to read such texts is the problem. A Dharmaśāstra can't be read straight off as a sociological document since it is all filtered through the constructions of brahmanical *varṇa* theory. The construction of caste was something that was occurring long before the colonial period. What brahman pandits were engaged in a text like the *Gemstone* is what I call "deep ritualization," with a tip of the hat to Pollock's Deep Orientalism, meaning the more inclusive ritualization and brahmanization of respectable low castes, i.e. *sat*-sūdras, bringing them more fully into the brahmanical fold by expanding their ritual rights.

The *Gemstone* has a section on *varṇasankara*, the brahmanical theory of caste origins, which describes the mixed *jātis* of śūdras and gives a vivid picture of the social landscape of the day. Real castes and their livelihoods and ways of life are all understood as the product of the intermarriage of pure *varṇas*—from a sociological point of view, the wrong way round.

The *Gemstone* is primarily a handbook for Brahmans. I don't think it was written for śūdras to read, although some were clearly literate, Kāyasthas, for instance. Even a śūdra like Tukārām must have kept his grocer's accounts in Marathi. The *Gemstone* was a manual for Brahman priests to consult in officiating for śūdras and in administering their ritual life. It includes śūdras in ritual more completely, but with the role of brahmans as priestly officiants assumed and the Vedic mantras reserved. Exclusion of śūdras from Vedic sacrifices and mantras was becoming increasingly irrelevant as even upper caste people and brahmans themselves were giving up performing purely Vedic sacrifices. In any case, everyone now, including brahmans, was doing many rituals like the *saṁskāras* of birth, marriage, and death and *śrāddhas* with Puranic and Agamic mantras and with customary, local forms and, by modern times, will cease doing most of them entirely. Eventually, all castes, even many untouchables, will have brahman

priests, often themselves of low caste, performing their weddings and funerals, as we can see from the ethnographic surveys of the colonial period.

The *Gemstone* is written in *nibandha* style as a digest of law and consists mainly of quotations from the *sūtras*, *smṛtis*, *Purāṇas*, and the *Śāntiparvan* of the *Mahābhārata* with its more heterogeneous and liberal Vaiṣṇava elements, but not the more straight-laced *Rāmāyaṇa*. Nibandhas revise dharma in accord with regional variation in customs by harmonizing them with the timeless unchanging dharma by a method of selective quotation. From the 12-17th c. we see a great production of such nibandhas sponsored by Hindu kings, of which a new attention to *śūdradharma* is a notable feature. It is not a coincidence, I think, that this is also the era of Muslim Turkic conquest and rule. Not just the identity and role of śūdras was of renewed interest, but questions of who were kṣatriyas, who were brahmans and what was their place and acceptable ways of making a living. Nibandhas are syntheses of the whole tradition of dharma as a totality as *varnāśramadharma*, as *sanātana dharma*, with a sense of a shared common tradition to be defended in the degraded time of the Kaliyuga. They are monuments of tradition in the face of the unprecedented nature of the challenge of unassimilating Muslims. Thus, we see the beginning of the formation of a Hinduism modeled after the "other" of Islam, showing how Hinduism as a religion and identity was being sedimented in this pre-colonial period and the need to see it as a multi-phasic process.

The question of whether the kṣatriya *varṇa* had disappeared or become latent in the Kaliyuga was much debated in Kṛṣṇa's day, and it is easy to see why, with the loss of sovereign power under the Delhi Sultanate and the Mughals. This is in line with the Hocart-Inden view of the impact that the loss of kingship as the linchpin of ritualized social hierarchy had on caste. brahmanical purity and impurity regulation of caste filled the vacuum left when kingship was removed. Hocart, as do many others including Indians, regarded the brahmanical four *varṇa* system as a pure figment, an invention of brahmans for their own glorification. Well, it was that, but it also became the cultural imaginary of Indian society in the absence of kingship. Ii can be compared to what happened to Judaism in the exile and diaspora.

The concern in *śūdradharma* texts to extend and enlarge the ritual rights of śūdras was part of this process, to enmesh them more fully in brahmanical ritual regulation. Some have regarded this as a liberalization. It can only be called that with qualification. Vedic sacrifice lost its full public political function and was replaced by the cultivation of personal piety in Bhakti and the private ritual of Tantra. Eventually, this had an impact even on Dharmaśāstra, the bastion of orthodox tradition, which, while preserving the Vedic privilege of *dvijas*, meaning mainly Brahmans by

this time, shifted its focus to domestic rituals open to all castes in appropriate ways with Brahman priests as officiants, to maintain their monopoly of ritual access.

The improved status of śūdras as farmers, landowners, and artisans as we see in the Punjab, Tamil Nadu, and Maharashtra and, indeed, the disappearance of kṣatriyas and vaiśyas in Bengal required a readjustment in Dharmaśāstra adapting it to new client bases for ritual services. By the 16th century, Dharmaśāstra was fully on board with *pūjā*, pilgrimage, worship at *tīrthas*, domestic *homas*, purifications, and penances for all *varṇas*. Even such concessions to popular devotion would be too much for the *nirguṇi sants*, who wanted to toss it all out. *Śūdradharma* texts like the *Gemstone* worked out a way to include Śūdras more fully in rituals that started out long before as Vedic sacrifices and practices that formally excluded them and were gradually turned into devotional observances for everyone.

Caste too evolves and changes. Who was classed as a Śūdra and their socioeconomic and political status varied enormously over time and region. From the Gupta period into the early medieval with the rise of the agrarian regional kingdoms and peasantization, Śūdras moved into agriculture and then, during the re-urbanization of the Sultanate and Mughal periods, into crafts and manufactures. Śūdra *jātis* proliferate and stratify, as do those below them, the *antyajas* and untouchables. The status of many Śūdra *jātis* improves relative to that of the growing number of *ādivāsīs* drawn into the bottom of the caste system. Dharmaśāstra tracks the changing status of Śūdras by improving their ritual status to match. It registers and accommodates changing custom while preserving its self-constructed image as eternal dharma.

Finally, the changing make-up of socioeconomic groups labeled as śūdras in Dharmaśāstra bring us to the problem of the relation of the ideal, stereotypic brahmanical discourse of *varṇa* to actual castes. Even Nārada, Yājñavalkya, Bṛhaspati, and Kātyāyana, when discussing workaday things like wage rates and taxes speak of wage earners, laborers, workers, and artisans rather than Śūdras. Brahmanical ideas of *varṇa* purity and impurity appear often to have had little relevance to how people experienced caste relations. Their prominence, it can be argued, was a product of the Muslim years and was then reinforced during the colonial period. Colonial administrators, and scholars, relying on their brahman pandits and texts, took *varṇa* theory as a description of how India was and always had been rather than as a prescription. In that sense, it can be said that they invented the modern understanding of caste and furthered the next step in its brahmanization. Who was regarded as a śūdra was the result of what might be called "caste struggle." "Śūdra" was a term in elite discourse, essentially a religious term, which those who had the power

and social leverage resisted and escaped by claiming higher caste, if they concerned themselves with it at all. Poor and powerless groups were stuck with it.

The Bhakti movements also had an oblique impact on Dharmaśāstra, over time shifting the weight of its tradition in the direction of inclusiveness, and promoted the formation of Smarta Hinduism with its fusion of Vedism with popular devotion. Some forms of Bhakti, especially the *niguṇipanths*, can be seen as expressing the social and spiritual aspirations of these *sat*-śūdra artisans and farmers with its stress on non-Vedic and non-caste faith, clearly under the influence of equalitarian, monotheistic Islam.

12

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